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The life of J. H. W.  
Stuckenberg











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THE LIFE OF J. H. W. STUCKENBERG  
THEOLOGIAN • PHILOSOPHER • SOCIOLOGIST

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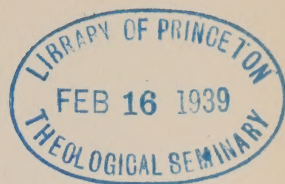






J. H. W. STUCKENBERG





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THE LIFE OF

J. H. W. <sup>✓</sup>STUCKENBERG

THEOLOGIAN — PHILOSOPHER — SOCIOLOGIST

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FRIEND OF HUMANITY

"Now we see through a glass  
darkly"—but we see . . .

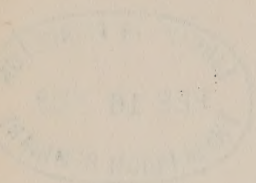
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BY

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DEAN AND PROFESSOR IN CARTHAGE COLLEGE

Minneapolis, Minnesota  
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1938



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*To My Wife*





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## Preface

MRS. MARY G. STUCKENBERG had been working for many years on a biography of her husband when she died, in 1934. In her will she made the request that I complete the unfinished work. Accordingly, the material which she had collected for this purpose was turned over to me about three years ago. It consisted of a large correspondence between Dr. Stuckenberg and others, his diaries, lectures and sermons, clippings from papers, note books, his published works and unpublished manuscripts, certificates, synodical minutes, church records, etc., all of which was primary source material; in addition, papers of Mrs. Stuckenberg in which she had more or less worked this material, which had increased immensely in the intervening years. The present book is based upon this and much other material.

I had made the acquaintance of Mrs. Stuckenberg in Gettysburg, Pa., when I was teaching in the College there. After some time I moved with my family to Minneapolis, to which place she also moved, having many friends in the Twin Cities. I gave her some help and we worked the Stuckenberg material into a rough manuscript with some of the characteristics of a source book of two large volumes. At least, it was a guide to follow for later clerical workers. The War broke out, and Mrs. Stuckenberg returned to Gettysburg, where she continued the work in her leisure hours.

Both before and after her stay in Minneapolis, she was thinking of a symposium biography to which, she hoped, some twelve or fifteen experts would contribute, each covering a certain phase of Stuckenberg's manifold activities. But the responsibility was felt to be too great, and this project was given up.

In 1923 I moved to Springfield, Ohio. Since I had promised Mrs. Stuckenberg further help on the biography she

came to spend a few years in that city. It had been her and her husband's home from 1873 to 1880. She was an intimate friend of the family and related to us, both in Minneapolis and in Springfield, many details about her own and her husband's life. These details have been of much value to me in preparing this volume.

Mrs. Stuckenberg became an invalid and could write no more. She was a woman of culture and refinement, versatile, of high ideals, unselfish and thoughtful of others, in her days an excellent W. C. T. U. organizer, as this Biography more incidentally reveals.

The material sent to me was almost staggering in volume. Much had become confused through the various transportations it had been subjected to. The first task was to eliminate, the second to condense—perhaps a whole page into two or three lines. Gradually something like a book, thrice the size of this, emerged. Even this differed much from the original draft both as to division into chapters and as to subdivisions, or sections. With still more work, the present volume resulted, in which there is hardly a line left of the first drafts. Though the book has been much changed in form, the spirit of Mrs. Stuckenberg is in it. She is not responsible, however, for the compliments paid to her in this volume. She wanted to be in the background, though meriting a book on her own life.

This volume has been prepared with special references to the students that came to Dr. Stuckenberg's church and his home, especially in Berlin; and to the ministers that read his many articles in the *Homiletic Review*; and to the audiences that heard him in the United States. There is much variety in the content, covering large and distinct fields. It has something to say to the man of academic walks, as well as to laborers that toil. It has a message from the battle field as well as the pulpit and platform. There is much in it that concerns the theologian, the philosopher, and the sociologist. Dr. Stuckenberg was all three. Functionally considered he was four: soldier and minister, author and teacher. In spite of the variety of the content



in the book, there is also a uniformity in it, controlled by the strong, steady, and consistent will of the personality who was behind it all.

Since most of Stuckenberg's works are out of print, this volume tries to give the readers an idea as to what his respective works contain. It also gives the floor to the reviewers of these books, since I wish the subject of our biography to be seen as much as possible with the eyes of his own age. Thus he reveals himself and is revealed by others. His own words are quoted as much as possible, and so are those of his critics.

This biography is historical. Says Albert Hauck: History of the past is the teacher of the future. Those who are in the midst of the great movements of life have of necessity no greater need than for a just and calm judgment which does not permit itself to be carried along by the torrents of party opinion. History, above everything else, teaches us to judge this way.

But history today has to face the problem of evaluation. Max Weber desires that historians and their likes abstain from evaluating: They must simply register facts and withhold their opinions. Against this speaks Eduard Spranger who endorses Humboldt's statement: "One understands man best by measuring him according to his ideals." Spranger thinks a fund of rare knowledge is precious, but "a little philosophical oil added completes the consecration." After all, every historian has his "philosophy," even if it consists in nothing else than the arrangement of his subject matter.

It is well to behold a man in the illumination of his own age. But much is also gained by comparing him with the thinking of our age. Comparisons need not be evaluations. And, therefore, the text of this biography is more than a registration apparatus. The philosophy and theology taught in the University of Lund and Uppsala is occasionally referred to for comparison with older movements, to some extent shared by Stuckenberg. For instance, the claim of some Lund professors that ethics is not based on episte-

mology, and that philosophy must be scientific and not presume to offer a world view.

In discussing Stuckenberg's sociological contributions, his affinity with Professor Othmar Spann is noted, especially because of Spann's standing in sociology today and his anti-materialistic interpretations. Naturally, also many other comparisons have been made.

Theologically, the controversy between the General Synod and the General Council is in part the background for Stuckenberg's early ministry. The readers are helped to see his side of the question; but no attempt is made to be a moralizing judge between the contestants. However, here the *new Luther-research* that has been going on in Germany for the last twenty years, and in Sweden even longer than that, is found asserting itself—in the text. We thus get trustworthy criteria to apply to the claims made by Dr. Stuckenberg as to "Christian sociology," "Christian civilization," and the "social gospel." We further get from modern research what is so necessary today in the face of modern *idola fori*. Terms like *church*, *kingdom of God*, *reason*, *revelation*, *law or justice*, *faith*, *love* have, in popular usage and also in the pulpit, departed much from their meaning given to them by Paul and Luther. These terms have become sub-evangelical even in large Protestant circles, causing much confusion. The reapproach to their classical meaning is most desirable. Stuckenberg dipped considerably into Luther's works and was enabled to clarify some of these terms, but not to the extent the new Luther research has done and is doing.

Naturally, this ushers before us many scientific authorities who have profoundly busied themselves with Luther, the soul in the Reformation movement. Even a scholar like Professor E. Hirsch, who makes the claim that the Lutheran confessions are at fault because the psychology and philosophy they used in their theology greatly differ from ours, makes the Luther of modern scholarship the compass of his theological thinking. Whether he interprets him rightly is a question that need not concern us here. But the

tendency is shown. The problem is not one about Luther's "inerrancy." He was a mighty, revolutionizing spirit, and as such has become best known to modern times through the researches of German and Swedish theology.

Therefore we draw much upon that, and can present but little from English and American theology, which has done comparatively little in this field. The idea is not to slight anybody's scholarship. The grand thing about the modern Luther-scholarship is that it is not sectarian. Neither was the Lutheranism of 1520-1530 sectarian. After all, the question is not one of giving a prize to Wittenberg or Geneva, but to determine what is scientifically true. In many things Calvin stood on the shoulders of Luther. He even signed the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession of 1530, as Franz Rendtorff has shown. But signing and understanding are not always identical. The chief matter is to get at the spirit of the thing signed. Going back to Luther, his spirit, and the men that know how to interpret him, will—I repeat it—give us a reliable standard with which to judge the modern claim of the "social gospel" and the demands that Christianity shall give us a better civilization; that Christ shall be Lord in social, economic and political life.

In all this, no recourse is taken to any form of "anathema." Errors in thought and action can be historically appraised and criticised. Subjecting them to religious condemnation is not the historian's or the biographer's business. History-writing is no Roman confessional that pries into the hearts and consciences of men, estimates sin, absolves or penalizes in God's name.

Biography is a part of history. It is not a relic in a museum. It deals with throbbing life and with personality, which means more than the individual. Let it be granted that personality is not a Biblical term (unless we use the Biblical term of "neighbor"); and it is a fact that those believers in the days of Paul who thought least about "cultivating" their personality, were really great personalities (non-idealistic). Stuckenberg's great term was personality, but in a higher meaning than that assigned to it by



Goethe, who coined the word. Dr. Heinrich Boehmer gives us a good idea of it in his *Der junge Luther* (1925) where he fittingly says that personality is not merely a collective name for the physical and psychological characteristics accidentally present in an individual; and that it is not the sum or product of these characteristics, or a quantity that by way of analysis can be dissolved into nothing. Personality is a mysterious Something, ever in flux, yet always plainly perceptible. This Something operates in, with, and under the characteristics of heredity and environment. Personality is like a plant receiving from its soil only what agrees with its nature.

Here the "men of constitution (corporal) research" can at best touch, but not lift, the veil. The somatic classification of Ernst Kretschmer; the integration psychology of Erich Jaensch; the understanding psychology of Eduard Spranger, with its six types of men; the Sombart classification of men as salesmen and heroes; the Oswald type of romantic and laboring men in science; the racial discrimination of Gobineau or Chamberlin; the geophysical phenomena of W. Hellpach who ventures to write a book on the Franconian phase; the graphology of L. Klage; the literary dependence of race on soil as pictured by J. Nägler—can not help us much.

Better: Let man be measured by his ideals, if we wish to know him. These ideals are not only expressed in words but in manifold life situations of great variety. In these this book abounds, in order to present Dr. Stuckenberg to the readers as he thought and wrought, and incidentally what others, friend and foe, thought and wrought about him.

To Mrs. Stuckenberg, her husband's place of birth and the people inhabiting it were of absorbing interest. Gustav Schmoller described the lower Saxons as *gens robustissima*, that purest German peasant race, stubborn and serious, which had experienced harsh struggles with Nature and thus become the best material for a healthful state organization with a well knitted system of industrial pursuits

which circumvent the harsh, physical obstructions. In deference to this, I have given more consideration than I would otherwise have done to Stuckenberg's native province. For deferential reasons, also, I have included many names of people of more interest to the Stuckenbergs than to the general public. But they, too, indicate in what circles he walked. The fact that names may be found missing which should be in this work, is due to the lack of space and to the cross-sectional approach in matters of this kind.

To those who judge the merits of a theologian mainly by his deliverances in the pulpit and, accordingly, miss any abundant quoting of sermonic matter in this book, it can be stated that there is a possibility that, at some time in the future, a volume of sermons preached by Stuckenberg will be published. In fact, his written sermons which are extant would fill a series of volumes, if they were to be published. Stuckenberg, however, was more than a sermonizer. He was a theologian.

He was well aware of the place and importance of the sermon. But he did not identify it, whether it was of the hortatory or of the educational kind, a philippic or a eulogy, plainly prosaic or emotionally rhetorical, with the ultimate task of theology. The sermon is a form of testimony; as such it reveals much of the inward man. But even if it conforms to the exacting demands of that modern type of homiletics, which, to use the language of Dr. Gerhard Hilbert, makes it impossible for a preacher to compose more than one sermon a month—it does not exhaust the work of a theologian.

A theologian of the German university trained type—and Stuckenberg belonged to this type—represents the kind of theology which Professor Emanuel Hirsch calls the special pride of German science. He properly states that theology has always played a leading role in the German university and that it, more than any other science, has maintained the high aim of training the entire man. First, all fields of *Geisteswissenschaften*, as he well says, "stand together" in the theological Faculty: philology; textual

criticism and interpretative scholarship; the history of politics, of law, of nations, of culture; the systematizing and conceptualizing of philosophy and jurisprudence; psychology; and pedagogy—each of which sciences needs almost an entire man. Even the *geistesgeschichtliche Kunst* of Wilhelm Dilthey, Hirsch avers, owes its origin to the History of Dogma of Adolph Harnack, whom Dilthey never was able to understand. Second, Protestant theology operates with the special presupposition of belief in the Gospel given in Christ—using this expression of the Reformation in the hope that it will be interpreted as originally intended.

To this equipment, which Stuckenberg possessed as a theologian, must be added mentally his equipment as a philosopher and a sociologist—if we desire to do him justice, and not dismiss him as a dilettant. After all, theology, philosophy, sociology are closely interrelated.

This volume has cost me *elend viel Mühe*, borrowing an expression from Hauck in speaking about his edition (1887) of H. Schmid's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. I had to travel on many intellectual roads, hold many reins in hand at one and the same time; watch developments from many angles; sort, weigh, arrange, and fashion the abundant material, yet legitimately bridge the gaps when data were missing—elucidating the whole with the light furnished by not a few institutional and privately owned libraries. With the progress of the work, however, the pleasure of the workman increased; and writing the final draft was a task of almost unmingled joy. Aware of the shortcomings of this work, I nevertheless hope that the reader will share with me some of the pleasure of surveying the life of a man so wholly absorbed in the rich *Geistesleben* of two continents as was J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

JOHN O. EVJEN.

Carthage, Illinois  
January, 1938



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THE LIFE OF  
J. H. W. STUCKENBERG  
THEOLOGIAN . PHILOSOPHER . SOCIOLOGIST





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## CHAPTER I

# Preparation and Emigration

### § 1. Osnabrück in Its Political-Historical Development

JOHN HENRY WILBRAND STUCKENBERG was born January 6, 1835, at Bramsche, near the city of Osnabrück, the capital of the Principality of Osnabrück, Germany. His ancestors were Westphalians. The earlier history of Osnabrück is involved in that of Westphalia; its later history in that of Hanover, which, in 1866, became a part of Prussia. In 1820 Osnabrück was described as being "about forty miles long and from sixteen to twenty miles wide and having four principle towns and three smaller, and about 20,000 fireplaces, or hearths, usually accommodating two families. The nobles and free are not reckoned in this account."

The region of his birth was rich in historic memories. Near Bramsche was the Teutoberg Forest, where Arminius had defeated the Romans, if Theodor Mommsen's conjecture is correct. In the neighborhood of Osnabrück, Charles the Great, the Frank, had defeated the Saxons under Widukind and forced them to accept Carolingian rule and churchianity. This form of Christianity, completely Romanized at the end of the twelfth century and reformed by the German Reformation in the sixteenth, was made to face a religio-political compromise in the Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, which, martially contested in the Thirty Years War, was practically restated in the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648. This treaty was preceded by the long drawn-out negotiations with the French at Münster and with the Swedes at Osnabrück. On October 4, 1772, the inhabitants of Bramsche celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the conversion of the Saxons, the jubilee being held in the local Church, often

renovated, but dating back to ca. 1200 and still retaining its ancient communion cup, engraved MCCCCLX.

At about the time of the birth of Stuckenberg's parents, political factors were making life in Osnabrück very difficult and insecure. The antagonism existing between Catholic and Protestant had indeed assumed a gentler aspect, due to the trend of thought in the Age of the Enlightenment, with its disregard for History and worship of Intellect. But this age was followed by that of the French Revolution, which affected every country in Europe, and, next to France, especially Germany. France acquired the left bank of the Rhine, and, with that, almost one hundred German states. Germany in order to indemnify the rulers who were deprived of these lands, authorized the confiscation of ecclesiastical lands and of free cities. The result was that of the formerly independent German states east of the Rhine, 112 ceased to exist. Thus the Germany of 1648, with more than 300 states, now had scarcely 100 left.

A part of Osnabrück was awarded to Hanover, since 1714 united by personal union with England; the King of England being also Elector of Hanover. From 1814 to 1837 he was king of both countries. From 1837 Hanover was independent till 1866, when it became a part of Prussia, as we shall see later.

In the meantime, the citizen of this part of Osnabrück experienced what it meant to be a *Musz-Hannoveraner*, and thereby partly a *Musz-Engländer*, further a *Musz-Preusze*, then a *Musz-Franzose* and, finally to revert to the *Musz-Preusze*—distinctions of little significance today, but working hardships at the time of the transfers, due to the vicissitudes of war, which caused, among other things, the following changes:

Hanover was at first forced upon Prussia by Napoleon, in order to inveigle her in war with England, his enemy. He soon shifted it from Prussia and made it a part of the Kingdom of Westphalia, a new creation of his which he gave to his brother Jerome to rule; it was then a part of the French Empire.

Tossed about in this matter, Osnabrück had to furnish Napoleon with soldiers for his expedition against Russia. Thus Stuckenberg's maternal uncle was forced into the French army. Excepting for one single letter from him, after this departure, he was never heard from again.

All the Westphalians had to make repeated sacrifices in order to replace the army and war material that Napoleon was sending against the land of the Czar. Osnabrück had its ample share of suffering and sorrow during this turbulent period. For years it had to support soldiers quartered in families, and do special favors to their officers. The loss of native inhabitants who were ordered to the army, assumed large proportions. Taxes increased enormously, and trade suffered. Most of the time the schools were closed. Insecurity reigned everywhere. The principality of Osnabrück was in the meantime transferred from government to government, partitioned, incorporated, excorporated, absorbed, and transferred again. The ancient church at Bramsche, against its will, had to celebrate, at the order of the French Empire, such events as the birth of the King of Rome, the birthday of Napoleon, and his victory over the Russians at Smolensk.

The magic spell of Napoleon, who was promising political liberty to all nations, finally broke. The Congress of Vienna in its attempt to reconstruct Europe returned Osnabrück to Hanover, which now as a kingdom, however, once more functioned in personal union with England. George III, King of England, also became King of Hanover, which received a new constitution, supplanting a feudal relic and establishing two chambers with greatly circumscribed powers in matters of legislation. Because of the ensuing friction, the Government remaining as aristocratic as before, Count Münster, the actual ruler of the country, was dismissed. King William IV of England thereupon conferred on his own brother the office of Viceroy over Hanover. Again, a new constitution was worked out, but it did not allay the discontent. As has been stated, the personal union was dissolved in 1837. Thomas Arnold, who

had been zealous in promoting the Englishman's respect for German scholarship, could now no longer speak of the Hanoverians as "our fellow-countrymen."

Continuing our retrospect, it must be stated that because of the Salic law, which did not allow the crown to descend to female heirs, Queen Victoria's uncle, Ernst August, the Duke of Cumberland, became king of Hanover. He was followed by George V, who ruled till 1866, when Hanover, not replying to Bismarck's request to remain neutral in the Austro-Prussian struggle, forfeited its independence, being conquered by Prussia. Thus Osnabrück became for all times what it had been for a short period before, Prussian territory. As for the House of Hanover, it ended genealogically for Hanover in 1866, but for England in 1901, at the death of Queen Victoria.

No doubt, however, that the losses sustained by this union with England were greater than the gains. Though some Hanoverians dressed in English fashion and would remind one another with such words as "Of course, we are in a certain sense, English," it must not be supposed that they were pathetically fond of the later mistress of the Seas or much concerned about resisting France. Their German ethos remained strong. As in Prussia, so in Hanover, including Osnabrück.

Frederick the Great of Prussia was heartily pleased that England, which had betrayed him shamefully in the last war and obstructed his attempt at getting Danzig, was meeting reverses in the American War of Independence. He publicly declared that he would not defend Hanover a second time for ungrateful England. He even forbade the auxiliary troops, which England had secured in Germany, to march through his territory. This "dirty traffic in humans" angered him. Hanover's sympathy for America was shown by refusing the Hessian soldiers, intended for fighting in the American colonies, to march through the Electorate; and by permitting the Americans to buy arms and army equipment from its factories.

Hanover had experienced humiliation at the hands of the



British aristocracy, who were apt to mistake every German for another edition of a crowned George, and who in insularlike aloofness often failed to understand the needs and characteristics, the idea and ideals of the German people. This failure, even extending to matters of academic liberty, was sadly exemplified in King Ernst August's annulment of the Constitution of Hanover at his accession in 1837, when he also compelled his subjects to swear allegiance anew. When seven celebrated professors of the University of Göttingen protested against this action, the king dismissed them and even exiled some of them.

No thanks, of course, are due to this ruler for making the *Goettinger Sieben*, famous as they were, more famous by his highhanded deed. He has been thousands of times imitated by administrators of larger or smaller American institutions of learning. Says Eduard Meyer: "The president of a large (American) university is one of the most powerful men on earth, uniting in himself the position of a German *Kultusminister* or his *Universitätsreferenten*, of the *Rektor* and of the deans and in addition that of a Minister of Finance."

The year 1837, of the forced emigration of the "*Goettinger Sieben*," was also the year of the voluntary emigration of Stuckenberg's father, Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg, from Osnabrück to America, which offered better economic and social possibilities to him, his wife and his six children than those that he had tried out on his native soil.

## § 2. The Social-Economic Background

Stuckenberg's father was a *Heuermann*, or *Heuerling*, a tenant who rented land from a *Colon*, a landowner, or from a peasant farmer. *Heuer* means rent, hire. In Osnabrück the landowners as a rule did not live together in a *Dorf*, or town. For, the town generally was the place where the church was located and where the tradespeople were living. The landowners dwelt on farms, a number of which

formed a *Bauerschaft*. Adjoining this would be the *Mark*, or common property, for keeping geese and cattle and for obtaining wood and turf. The *Kirchspiel*, or parish, of Gehrde, for example in 1845, numbered 318 families which were *Heuerleute* and 204 families which were landowners, the total population being 2500 persons. In 1900 Gehrde was called a *Flecken*. A *Flecken* is a market-town, combining characteristics of both city and village. The *Kirchspiel* of Bramsche in 1845 had a population of 1550, today increased to 5000. It has a school for weaving, a cotton spinning mill, and manufactures wares made of cloth, linen, cotton, wool, tapestry, soap, and machinery. In 1845 the proportion of *Heuerleute* to landowners in Bramsche may have been somewhat less than that of Gehrde, since Bramsche produced and exported large quantities of substantial linen known as "Osnaburghs". General Washington ordered some of this for army use.

When a contract between the *Heuermann* and the *Colon* expired, it was automatically renewed or informally passed on to the son, since the landowner was generally not anxious to have new people on his land. There were tenants whose land had descended for generations from father to son. Osnabrück was fair as an agricultural country. Its spinning industry had from early times been a source of profitable income; in fact about 1820, the spinning of yarn and manufacturing of linen constituted its principal and most profitable occupation. The spinning wheel was the coat of arms of Osnabrück.

But with the arrival of the times of Napoleon, disastrous conditions began. War, the introduction of the machine, the selfish economic policy of England, its increasing misrule in Hanover, also affecting neighboring territories, combined to make the life of the *Heuerleute* in Osnabrück one of increasing poverty.

For the *Heuermann* to emigrate to other parts of Osnabrück would not ameliorate his economic status. In 1845 the Principality of Osnabrück had a population of 153,412 persons. One-sixth of it lived in towns or cities. More than

one-half of the entire population consisted of *Heuerleute*. The *Heuermann* with his family would live in one of the small houses on the land of the *Colon*, or he would share the house with another *Heuer* family. The cost of the modest structure was about \$100. The rent of it was as high as eight to twelve dollars a year. After the beginning of the nineteenth century, nobody in Osnabrück could earn a living for his family by spinning. Cotton had forged its way to the market as a cheaper but poorer substitute for wool and linen. A pair of long woolen stockings would command only the low price of fifteen to twenty cents. Woolen socks were sold at seven cents a pair. This meant an income of from two to five cents a day for the knitters. Notwithstanding, producing woolen goods was a source of greater profit for the *Heuermann* than producing linen. Since he had to pay the rent of his land and buy Russian seed for flax, he was better situated in a region where the land was poor. Fertile land commanded a higher rent. On poor land he could raise sheep, thus getting wool at little expense, not much fertilizing of the soil being needed. England, which formerly had bought Osnabrück linen, was now, however, finding a market in Osnabrück for its Irish linen. Spain and Cuba had formerly imported Osnabrück linen, but had now to pay eleven percent duty on it. Osnabrück was also in need of ships. Bramsche itself lay only 60 miles from Bremen.

The *Heuermann* who cut turf, needed the additional earnings derived from spinning and weaving, in order to meet the expenses of the winter. But these earnings now amounted to very little. Several *Heuerleute* had been sharing the *Mark* adjacent to the farm of the *Colon*, for pasture purposes. Here the *Heuermann* would have a cow, a horse, a few geese, and be able to procure turf for fuel. This sharing would bring him an annual income of from \$30 to \$60. But now the *Mark* was being divided into small sections and sold to the *Heuerleute*, who were frequently obliged to pay a high price for the purchased land, small in size and poor in quality. This new way of disposing of

the common made it necessary for some of the *Heuerleute* to rent strips of meadow land on the public highway.

Another change made at the beginning of the new century, was the new status of the *Colon*. He, too, was now living under economic difficulties. He had, for example, to cease baking bread in large quantities, the fuel being too expensive. This also affected the pocket book of the *Heuermann*. Further, increasing demands were being made upon his time and labor; he was becoming, more and more, a coerced Jack-of-all-trades. Owing to the nature of contracts not specifying the work required, he could be summoned at any time of the night to appear on the next day at the home of the *Colon*, where he was to help in cutting hay, preparing flax, putting up fruits, digging potatoes, and washing. When summoned for the afternoon, he had to appear at eleven in the forenoon, starting out an hour earlier from his home, and working till nightfall without a dinner.

Better treatment was given to the *Heuermann* at the peasant-owned farms than at the premises of the *Colon*. He could always find something to do on the peasant's farm, applying himself as a carpenter or a mechanic. He would eat from the same table as the peasant, and share with him his joys and sorrows. On such a farm he could keep a cow for dairy products, for hauling, or a horse if he owned one.

Many *Heuerleute*—as many as about 6000 in 1820—were accustomed to cross the border to find work in Holland, where they would till the soil, mow grass, cut turf and perform other labor for hire. Some of them were people with a trade: gardeners, masons, carpenters, sailors, even musicians. Formerly, they could earn in this temporary self-imposed exile from \$15 to \$20 for two months of work, but in 1845 only \$10. Formerly, turf dredgers received \$50 for three months, but in 1845 only about \$20. These workers, called *Hollandsgänger*, seldom attained a high age. They suffered from the heat of day and the cold of night, frequently sleeping on the bare ground. Their work was heavy and hard, often in water. Their food was poor.



Many returned home incurably ill. A gardener might receive fifty cents a day, but one-half of this was spent for food. He would leave his family in February and return not before November. Sometimes his visit home lasted only six weeks. The care of the family meanwhile rested on his wife. The entire practice tended to make the bonds of family life lax. But even this opportunity for earning the modest needed extras was diminishing. Holland was dispensing with this type of periodically imported labor.

Poor as he was, the *Heuermann* took pride in paying the small tuition asked for his children in school. But the times were so hard that from one-fourth to one-third of the school children were obliged to get tuition aid. He could, however, do but little to help elevate his country, either economically or politically. Even an expert statesman like Karl Stein called Hanover "Germany's China", and a famous historian like Heinrich von Treitschke wrote of it as *ein verflixtes Durcheinander*. The *Heuermann* had no vote in state or communal matters—the peasant at least had that. The *Heurleute* furnished the bulk of the army and were expected to fight even against their own relations in the opposing army. A citizen with some means could be released from military service by getting a substitute. Too often the substitute was a *Heuermann*.

Naturally, the New World strongly appealed to men of this type. It appealed to Stuckenberg's father. It could help him and his family. Would America be benefitted by arrivals from the land of Justus Moeser? It is idle to raise the question, whose only answer can be Yes. But it is not amiss to consider Osnabrück in its cultural aspect, before giving the answer in detail in the succeeding chapters of this book.

### § 3. Osnabrück in Cultural Aspect

Osnabrück and its people have been fascinatingly described by one of its most famous sons, Justus Moeser (1720-1794), famed as both jurist and journalist. By virtue of a long residence in London he had gained an inti-



mate knowledge of English institutions, and had whetted his ability to compare states, peoples, and institutions. In 1774 he published *Patriotic Fantasies*, a selection of treatises that he had written for his paper, models of popular description touching on a great variety of subjects, Moeser was at his best in treating political and social subjects. This is especially noticeable in his *History of Osnabrück*. In its regard for social factors, this work anticipated those of both John Henry Green and Karl Lamprecht. He was the first trained statesman to write about the genesis and growth of the German people; the origin and development of their customs, economics, and political institutions. Though some of his views as to political origins have been corrected, he exerted a wholesome influence on his times. Like Bismarck, who admired him, he disliked bureaucracy which assumed the guardianship of everybody. He was admired by Goethe, who called him the "glorious" and "incomparable" patriarch of Osnabrück. The great German poet knew of no other, he wrote, with whom he would compare Moeser than Benjamin Franklin—in regard to the choice of universally useful themes, profound insight, happy treatment, and genuine good humor. Economists like Wilhelm Roscher treated Moeser's views on economics understandingly and sympathetically; Schmoller commended his protest against the shallow individualism of the Enlightenment and lauded his historical mind, especially for strongly counteracting the academic opinion of his times.

Stuckenberg as we shall see later advocated many of Moeser's ideas, which he had heard discussed as a boy in his father's home when friends met, and which he later read in works by and about Moeser. Both loved the common people. Both favored a conservative rather than liberalistic program of social legislation. Both believed in a constructive government for the people. Whether the government was by the people or an agency of it, if it was close to the heart of the people and suited its genius, was not of primary consideration to either.

Perhaps nothing else in literature is so felicitous in re-

vealing with a few strokes of the pen the nature of the people, from whom Stuckenberg sprang, as that selection from Moeser's works recorded in translation in Kuno Francke's *A History of German Literature*, pp. 315 seq.

The people of Osnabrück had much of the social-mindedness of Moeser. They can today point to a number of theologically trained men of Westphalian antecedents who did not give up Theology in their work for the social uplift of humanity. It suffices to mention Stuckenberg's own countrymen, Adolf Stoecker (1835-1909), court preacher in Berlin from 1874 to 1890, founder of the Christian-Social party, a man with whom Stuckenberg was to associate much in the German capital. Mention may also be made of Friedrich von Bodelschwingh; Georg Funke; Ludwig Windhorst; and Johan Karl Bertram Stueve. Stuckenberg himself spent fully twenty-five years of his life in the study of the social question. But it would be erroneous to ascribe Stuckenberg's "passion for humanity," a term used by his friends in describing his outstanding trait, solely or even mainly to racial and environmental characteristics obtaining in Osnabrück.

Some light has already been shed on the land of Stuckenberg's forbears. We next ask, Who were they?

According to a document based on the Church book of *Kirchspiel* Bramsche, written April, 1839, signed by the Lutheran pastor of the place, Dr. A. Lange, and bearing the seals *Königreich Hannover* and *Sigillum Ecclesiae Bramascensis*, Stuckenberg's paternal grandparents were Johann Rudolph Stuckenberg and Catharine Marie Thesing dwelling at Tömmern, in *Kirchspiel* Bramsche. His father was Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg, born April 27, 1798, at Achmer. His mother was Anna Marie Biest, born February 4, 1800, at Epe. Both of his parents were orphaned early, his father at five. His father had two sisters. All three were left to the care of their mother, who now, after due preparation, became a midwife. His mother had only one brother. He, as stated before, had been forced into

Napoleon's army, never to return. Stuckenberg's parents were "poor in everything except in piety."<sup>1</sup>

His mother was twice married, first to a Dammermann, who died early. She had one child, a daughter, in this marriage. In her second marriage, with Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg, she had five children, born between the years 1823 and 1835, at Bramsche; a later child, born to her in America, died as an infant. Her two sons were Hermann Heinrich, born in 1829, and our Johann Heinrich Wilbrand, who saw the light of day on January 6th, 1835. In America the name was evolutionized into John Henry William. His wife called him Wilburn, this being a better translation of "Wilbrand."

To this family of eight people, Osnabrück could offer only a bare subsistence. Hermann Stuckenberg was trained both as a carpenter and a farmer, but he was obliged to do much work as a *Heuermann*, which caused hardship both to himself and to his family. He was a man of large build and strong arms; but size and strength could help him but little towards supporting his dependents, where there was so little opportunity to earn and save for a large family. He was a strong personality, of moral courage and integrity, keenly aware of his responsibilities as husband and father, and deeply religious. He began to look to the new land in the West as his future home. As he from time to time compared possibilities there with the hard life of a *Heuermann* at home, the resolve was gradually formed in his mind to go West. Like many others who took up their abode in the distant West, he planned to make the voyage alone, accompanied by his first born in his second marriage; obtain work; and earn enough to send the necessary passage money for the arrival of the remainder of his family. The maturation of the plan and the subsequent execution of it will be told in the following.

#### § 4. Hermann Stuckenberg Emigrates from Germany (1837)

Some time before his emigration, Hermann Stuckenberg, it seems, must have owned money, possibly inherited from his mother. Since no land was available for him in Osnabrück,

brück with the meagre means at his command, he had as a *Heurer* to change homes several times, though they all were within the radius of a few miles from Bramsche. He lived at the *Bauerschaften* of Epe and Pente. At Pente he dwelt at several places: Schierberge *Lieft*, Peppen *Lieft*, and Strachsene *Lieft*. John, the subject of our *Life*, who is always designated by his (lone) surname, whenever the "baptismal" names are not given along with it for good measure, was born at Strachsene *Lieft*.

It was situated in a valley of pleasing view, and, at the proper season, abundant in wildflowers and blooming heather, spiraea, ragged robin, forget-me-nots, and other beautiful blossoms, harebells, oak trees, holly and beech woods. His father, wanting land and a house of his own, bought property at Schierlage. This land had never been under cultivation. Here he built a house and began to make the soil arable. It was a hill of sand, covered with heather and a growth of pine. But it yielded no returns for the labor spent on it, and had finally to be abandoned. Stuckenberg, visiting this place many years afterward, wrote laconically in his note book: "Here parents unfortunate." It was this experience which climaxed the best efforts of Hermann Stuckenberg to provide a permanent habitation for his family, and also determined for him the question of emigration.

In the summer of 1837 he embarked for America, accompanied by his daughter Anna Margarete, age fourteen, and by a small group of his countrymen. They had taken leave of the sacred hillocks in the *Gottesacker*; of their friends, from whom the leave-taking would be perhaps forever; and of their dear ones, not without dread in the thought of what might occur to them before they could meet again. They had paid a visit to their revered pastor, Lange, to receive his parting counsel. After making their way northward, they boarded their ship at Bremen.

Hermann Stuckenberg was now thirty-nine years of age. The hard work of the *Heuerleute* usually made them look old and worn-out at that age; in fact, they were regarded



as old men. But Hermann Stuckenberg looked young, the fire of hope burning brightly within. The ship was bound for Baltimore. The voyage lasted eight weeks, although the passengers sang with hope:

*In sieben Wochen sind wir da,  
In der Vorstadt Amerika.*

A fellow emigrant, Mr. B. H. Succop, from Hanover, who became a prominent merchant tailor in Pittsburgh (died 1899), has related that the gloom and distrust which at times hung as a heavy cloud over the group, was dispelled by the hope and confidence of Hermann Stuckenberg, who was looked upon as a hero because, at a time when emigration from Osnabrück to the West was almost unheard of, he had faith in America firm enough for him to act on the belief that he was going to earn enough to assemble unaided the remainder of his family in that strange land. "That put heart into us," said Mr. Succop.<sup>2</sup>

The passengers sighted Baltimore on July 4th, but went ashore two days later. On board the ship they heard from the land bands playing and cannon booming, and saw flags floating in the breeze. The Fourth was being celebrated; but some on board were assuming that this was the customary welcome with which America greeted her future citizens from Europe.

Hermann Stuckenberg and his companions were among the first people who had emigrated from Osnabrück to the United States. No time was lost in starting for the farther west. They donned their knapsacks, eager to march to Pittsburgh. It was a glorious tramp over mountains and along streams. They began their day with a morning chorale, and ended it with an evening chorale, commending themselves to God. Paul Gerhardt's beautiful *Nun ruhen alle Wälder* resounding through the starry night, gave comfort to their hearts. During the day they would sing folk songs. The journey was accomplished in ten days.



At their arrival at Pittsburgh, they found it less easy to get work than they had hoped. The United States was having the severest financial panic in two generations. Work was scarce. But Hermann Stuckenberg, favored by size and strength above his fellows, got employment immediately, first at the shovel, and soon at his trade. Fortunately, a German Lutheran Church (First Lutheran) was in process of organization and had begun building a place of worship. It offered him work at once.

By tireless industry, paired with self-denial, he was able to accomplish within a period of two years, and to the amazement of those on his native heath, the object most immediate in his mind: to lay by the passage money needed for bringing the dear ones left behind to the new home. His daughter soon redeemed the cost of her own ship passage by serving as a family domestic.

#### § 5. Anna Stuckenberg Follows Her Husband (1839)

Her husband's departure for America involved hardships for Anna Stuckenberg. She removed to a smaller dwelling and essayed the burden of supporting her five children, though she received much help from her eldest daughter, born in 1819. Her youngest child, *our* Stuckenberg, she carried with her to her place of work in the fields. She had not been used to such toil. People wondered how this little woman could manage to struggle along. But after two years, she got from her husband \$225, which he had saved up for transportation of the family. It seems that she was then living at Sandwisch. Her son Hermann Heinrich, born in 1829, left a textbook in religion, which he had used at Sandwisch. It had his name inscribed and the years 1838 and 1839. It was G. F. Seiler's *Erster Historischer Religionsunterricht*. The author was the fertile writer of 173 books, several of which appeared in many editions, and some in many translations. He was professor of theology in Erlangen, convinced of the agreement between natural reason and Biblical revelation. The book indicates what a boy of nine or ten was expected to know about religion.

Anna Stuckenberg was a devoted admirer of Gerhard Tersteegen's religious poems. Her conversations and letters, lengthy and interesting; her fair handwriting indicate that she was a woman of considerable education, though there is no information as to what her early educational opportunities were. Her father was an officer in the church.

In the summer of 1839, she and her five children sailed for America, arriving, after six weeks on the ocean, at Baltimore. Her husband was not able to meet his family. This sacrifice was dictated by economy. But Anna Stuckenberg engaged a colored driver to transport the baggage. The two youngest children were weighed with the baggage and carried as freight, while the older members of the family walked on foot. The Negro driver spoke no German. Though failing as a descriptive guide through the scenery which they passed, he safely piloted them to their destination. At the end of two weeks they reached Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where a home was ready for the arrivals. There they had their first meeting with the two who had gone before them, two years before.

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## CHAPTER II

### Childhood in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati (1839-1849)

#### § 1. Pittsburgh (1839-1843)—A Mother's Care

THE BOY STUCKENBERG witnessing the reunion with his father and his sister, was only four and one-half years old, at loss to understand what it was all about. No doubt he had heard of the joy to be his in meeting them, especially his father. He had no memories that would enable him, tired little traveler as he was, to grasp what was in store for him. To a family of such profound depth of feeling, tears and sobs as well as laughter expressed their emotions. The little one got separated from the others and was standing alone, wide-eyed and distrustful of the big man in their midst. When the mother espied him aloof, she cried: "Why Heinrich,"—to the family he was always Heinrich—"you have not come to father to greet him. You must come, too." But Heinrich cried, "No; that's not my father," not knowing what to make of the situation. All that he had heard of the coming event, could not prepare him; for he did not know what a father was, as he had no male relatives except a six year old brother, no grandfather, no uncle. He could not make any advance. Not until the tender father, weeping himself, threw the boy on his shoulder where he could ride aloft, could familiar relations begin. The scene was never forgotten by his sisters and his brother, to whom it seemed most amusing, though not so to the parents.

Stuckenberg often mentioned in later years what a debt of gratitude he owed to his father "for having brought us to America; for having brought us everyone, and at the time when he accomplished it." As to family resemblance, he had his father's stature, the same strong chin, his energy, his assiduity and fondness for travel. However, he

had more traits in common with his mother. She was a small woman, fair, with penetrating blue eyes set wide apart under a broad, smooth brow. His love of intellectual pursuits he attributed to her. As has already been indicated, she was educated, not widely but nobly, with a profound religiosity that left great impress on her children. Of this there will be occasion to speak again. Her letters, always in German, in a very fair handwriting, good in grammar and good in orthography, reflect much devotional reading. Her religiosity was of the type of Philipp Spener and Ludwig Zinzendorf. She knew much of Tersteegen's religious poetry by heart. She was aware of the beauty of nature to a remarkable degree, a joy which Stuckenberg strongly shared. Stuckenberg's descriptive prose arose at its highest whenever he wrote about natural scenery.

Hermann Rudolph took out his citizen's first papers on October 4, 1838, in Allegheney County, Pennsylvania, and obtained his second papers on June 4, 1844, in Hamilton County, Ohio, one year after he moved to Cincinnati. However, he developed no political aspirations. He was a member, even a charter member, of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh. The church record shows that he, his wife, and his children received communion regularly, and that he, in May, 1840, was appointed a member of a committee to investigate a faulty construction in the church building, for which the contractor was held responsible. He was deeply interested in church affairs. Years after he had left Pittsburgh, a letter reached him at Cincinnati in which the writer on making various inquiries asks, "Are you still such a churchman as you were in Pittsburgh?"

Rearing a family of many children in a metropolis like Pittsburgh was a taxing task to Anna Stuckenberg. A child born to her in America passed away in 1841. Pittsburgh afforded danger as compared with Bramsche, whose historic river, the Hase, was a gentle, winding stream, seldom wide or deep. But Pittsburgh had two mighty rivers, a great cliff, and other high hills. This required several restric-



tions for a young boy disposed to investigate for himself. Even in company with his mother, he was not insured against danger. Once, while they were crossing a long bridge at Hand Street, they were busy watching the sights when suddenly the lad sank through a hole at his feet. If he had not been caught by his arms as he fell, he must have dropped into the deep river, whose waters rolled at a swift pace. Such incidents would sometimes make Anna Stuckenberg feel ill at ease. True, her cares were shared by her husband, ever ready to help; and she was fully aware that the economic phase of living was more promising than in Osnabrück. But also other elements had to be considered—as the strangeness of the new surroundings, a new language, the transition from rural to urban requirements, and an uncertainty as to the future. Cincinnati was the original goal for Hermann Rudolph's emigration, but he received an opportunity to work in Pittsburgh and, therefore, settled there for the time being.

After living four years in Pittsburgh, the family moved to Ohio.

## § 2. Cincinnati (1843-1845)

In the year 1843, Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg settled with his family in Cincinnati. The journey of almost five hundred miles was made by boat on the Ohio river. He soon received employment, working at his trade. His eldest son obtained work in a dry goods store. Of his daughters, Marie Adelheid (b. 1819, d. 1849) married Mr. Philip Sanders, a farmer who took up land in Indiana and Iowa. Anna Margaret (born in 1823) married Henry Niewelde; and Catherin Regine Adelheid (b. 1826, d. 1896) his brother Christ Niewelde (d. 1863). They moved to Jackson County, Indiana, where their husbands had farms. Anne Marie Elise (b. 1832, d. 1884 or 1885), who later married Frank Hughens, and her youngest brother kept the "home fires" burning.

Young Stuckenberg got the first taste of city life from his fifth to his tenth year under normal conditions and mainly under the formative influence of his home. The



language of the home was low German, which he spoke fluently. Literary German was employed in letter writing and in conversation with Germans of higher education. In 1843 the German element in Cincinnati comprised twenty-three per cent of the population. English became the dominant language of Stuckenberg, though his subsequent training gave him complete mastery of excellent German both in speech and in writing.

His parents loved to converse. Much was related by the fireside about the "French times." There was a never ending abundance of reminiscences to be exchanged by the Germans on their intervisits. These reminiscences served as the background for the situation in America, offering material for comparison, enlightenment, and general discussion. There was an atmosphere of living history in the new home. It had its effect on the children, particularly on the destiny of Stuckenberg. As a boy and a youth, he constructed his view of the world and of human affairs according to that held by the pious family into which he had been born. This, together with the memories of the country he had left and the ocean he had crossed, made him, at a very early age, extremely conscious of similarities and contrasts in situations. He acquired the habit of comparing things, peoples, races, countries, opportunities.

Later in life, when surveying the past, he regarded it as providential that he had been reared in conditions which taught him to view life seriously, to shun luxury and idleness. As a mature man, he did not hold a high estimate of opinions which attribute an overwhelming influence to heredity and environment. It was his opinion that energetic youth will, to a great extent, secure his own environment. What he believed regarding heredity, he summed up in the epigram, "The potency of the seed is the prophecy of the character." He did not, however, dismiss the factor of environment as if it were without significance. Whatever his theory was, some of the fancies of fiction, related in his home when he was a child, influenced him even in advanced years. He disliked after dark to be unexpectedly

or suddenly confronted with a woman in white; he would then allude to the "German" feeling that such an apparition presaged death. In thunderstorms he was nervously excited. In further support of the hold the power of environment had on his person, independent of his theoretical evaluation of it, he often would lend emphasis to a saying current in Germany, that "Geography is destiny."

Applied to Osnabrück, of ancient culture and civilization, where for many centuries clearly defined regions have been inhabited by separate varieties of racial stock and kept measurably pure, the statement may be shown to contain heavy strands of truth. The native district of a group of men generally determines their leading physical characteristics and their social inheritance. The people of Osnabrück, according to localities, are tall or short, fair or dark, carrying the head straight in order to get a narrower or wider range of vision. The districts also determine the language, domestic customs, the trend in religion and other dominant factors. It would seem as if even the harnessing of the physical by means of the physical; reducing—yes, practically eliminating—space and time; removing mountain and ocean-like barriers; tempering the extremes of climate and the fury of war,—change man but little. He adheres more or less to a largely inexplicable bent, recessive at one moment, and aggressive at the next.

Among Americans, Stuckenberg was always thought of as born in their own country, while both English and Scotch people were as ready to claim him as their own. He associated with so many of the latter through his many years of residence in Europe, after he was forty-five. His fellow Germans, again, recognized him as one of their race. Besides, they knew what corner of Germany had given birth to his ancestors because of his pure Saxon type and the manner he spoke the beautiful Hanoverian German. In these estimates, the Germans were altogether right, and the others not far from wrong. For his English speech never betrayed his nativity, and he had come from a land that for many generations had been under English rule.

But to revert to the child, Stuckenberg did not escape correction. One incident is reported of him and his father. It was a rule of the house that he must be at home when his father would arrive from work. One evening he was missing; and as music was perceptible, his father began to search in the direction of its source, an American circus. There he found his son an interested spectator on the grounds. The boy became aware of the parent, ran to him, seized him by the hand trying to pull him along faster. "Oh, father," he said, "you got to come and see. I know a place. If you lie down, you can see all that is going on. I'll hold up the curtain for you." But the father declined the invitation, and, pulling the child homeward, added: "You will have to look at something else when we get home. Little boys that don't mind will have to learn to mind." And so the lad made acquaintance with the "rod" as used by his father, of whom he later said, when relating this incident, "He did nothing by halves." He could relate that he got a whipping sometimes when he did not deserve one; but, he would add, he often had escaped at other times when he had done something calling for discipline. Both parents, however, were very sacred to him.

The circus having a big place in the fantasy of any American boy, kept its hold on Stuckenberg's imagination to the end of his life. When he was pastor in Berlin, he and his celebrated friend, Dr. Willough Dayton Miller, head professor of the dental department in the University of Berlin, took off an afternoon for circus Renz. Finding it a "family day," they assembled urchins from the street and took them along into the circus, as if they were their own children.

The facts regarding young Stuckenberg's schooling during these first two years in Cincinnati, which he left in order to move with his parents on a farm in Indiana, are scarce. He objected to being sent to a German school, on the grounds that he was in America and wanted English. Meanwhile, his "school" during the following four years in Indiana, consisted in intimate association with his parents in a new home, where he was the only child, his sisters and brother being otherwise provided for.

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### CHAPTER III

## Farmer Boy in Indiana

(1845-1849)

#### § 1. Nature's Surroundings

THE YEAR AFTER he got his citizens' papers, Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg removed to Ripley County, Indiana, where he, near Olean, a post village of seventy-five people, twenty-two miles northeast of Madison, had bought from the Land Office forty acres of land. It was in a narrow valley, so heavily wooded, that it was necessary to bridge one of the streams to find room for the barn, which thus served both as barn and bridge. On arriving, he found a log cabin with walls and roof but without floor, doors, and windows. He soon provided it with these. He also furnished it with a table of rough-hewn timber, bedsteads, and benches—all in keeping. His ambition now was to live as an American farmer.

Two streams met in the front of the "door yards." The place was shut in on both sides by ranges of high hills. In times of thunderstorms, the reverberations among the forest hills were terrific. "When I was a boy," Stuckenberg relates, "I lived in the backwoods of Indiana. My father and I had cleared the fields of the primitive forest; and with my mother we lived in a solitude in which our chief companionship was with nature. One log cabin of two stories, one room in each, stood on an angle formed by two streams, "creeks," as they were called there. No other house was visible. The hills in every direction limited the view. The nearest neighbors were too far away to respond to any cry we might raise. The influence of the somber forest, the loneliness, the companionship of squirrels, birds, and snakes and the strange stories related when company



was gathered, served to make a lasting impression on my youthful imagination."

The neighbors were mostly Germans, many of whom had brought, from the old country, stories of second sight, of ghosts, tragic deeds, and revolution. Stuckenberg heard these stories which sometimes must have made his experiences gruesome. Doubtless they were offset by some quieting influence, such as it was the father's custom to exert on occasion of thunderstorms, which were frequent in warm weather. When at night crash followed crash with dreadful echoes among those forest hills, he would rouse the boy and his mother from sleep that they might read the Bible and pray together. This solemn recognition of God's overruling hand in nature deepened the boy's sense of religious awe and put its stamp upon his faith. The only books in the home were a German Bible, the Osnabrück German hymnal, and a novel. From these and an occasional newspaper, the mental furnishing of the boy was derived. He now laid the foundation of the almost remarkable familiarity with Scriptures and sacred song which characterized his later years. The religious life of his mother, which was an enfolding atmosphere, made this result inevitable. Her manifest concern was the religious welfare of her children, their relation with God. His father was a man of determination, inured to toil, inclined to be rover, an inclination fostered by pecuniary circumstances. But he would undertake no decisive action without seeking first to know God's will.

It was in the Indiana cabin that the ties were knit that bound the boy Stuckenberg to his parents and that later did so much to spur him on in his life's character. The longer he lived, the more he comprehended how limited the opportunities and how great the difficulties of his parents had been in life.

As the boy grew, becoming large and strong for his age, he rejoiced to keep pace with his father in wielding the axe, a part of their daily work, in the forest. They were obliged to prepare the ground with the hoe for sowing wheat,



the ground being too thickly covered with stumps for using a plow. In competing with his father, Stuckenberg was developing strength and litheness of frame. The lissomeness of his tall and handsome figure, also later developed in the army, attracted attention.

Fishing and excursions varied the monotony of toil, and frequent hunting gave accuracy of vision at long range. In winter, father and son chopped down trees and hauled away all the logs they could sell. But it became necessary to burn great piles of fine timber, even black walnut, in order to clear the soil for cultivation. To while away the long winter evenings, the three played cards—a favorite game with their countrymen and usually played for money. In after years Stuckenberg could not be induced to touch the game, saying to his wife: “There was a time when I did not dare tamper with it for fear it would have too great fascination for me.” On week days Stuckenberg had little opportunity to meet those of his own age. His first picnic was an event of importance. Ladies were present who were serving dainties in which he as a lad was to have a share. He was too shy to eat in their presence. As soon as their backs were turned, other boys, having consumed their own supply, fell upon his. Too astonished to defend himself, he left the loaded table supperless, and with profound disgust for the coarse manners and rude talk of such table-companions. But among them had been a boy, who afterward seemed to be knitted to his soul. At intervals through life he would say, “I wish I knew what has become of Richard Schulenberg.”

Dainties were the exception at the table of the cabin. The food served was plain, well prepared, consisting of vegetables from the garden, fish from the streams, game and berries from the woods. The woods also furnished lumber in rich abundance, out of which furniture was made for the home, which also otherwise was improved from year to year. As a farmer and carpenter, the father was happy in the midst of such abundant and diversified forces. The happiness was reflected in the family.

There were, as has been indicated, occasional visits from fellow countrymen having their farms thinly scattered through the neighboring forests. They would arrive at night by the light of lanterns, treading their way through the pathless woods. On special occasions when there was barn raising or logrolling, groups would assemble in the day. They were gifted, talkative folk, whose entertainment included folklore, songs, and recitals of history.

Sunday was observed in the home of Stuckenberg. It was never just like a week day. It broke the monotony of the week and gave social and religious rest. Week days were entered upon with prayer. There was no sitting down to table without lifting up the heart in thankfulness. Once a month an itinerant preacher or missionary arrived. Stuckenberg was instructed and confirmed by such a missionary, who, however, later entered the Catholic priesthood. When there was no preacher present to conduct worship, the Stuckenbergs also would have services together with such as were gathered for the purpose in their home. Such home services had become a practice in the Westphalian type of country residences in Osnabrück. Both parents were gifted in song.

Despite Stuckenberg's young years at his arrival to America, his birthplace was not merely a background for him. It remained present with him as a determining factor, a world of memory and a world of hope. The distant Overthere, lived through again in hearing others give their reminiscences, had a pull and an urge. There were solitary hours when the boy lay under the trees, wrought upon by these grand elemental forces and consumed by a yearning for—he knew not what—in the providence of God.

## § 2. A Rude Awakening

From these yearnings he was awakened by the sudden unlooked-for appearance of a stranger, who found entrance to the home and laid claim to it. The unbelievable was to happen. Hermann Rudolph's transactions in acquiring the

land had been with the Land Office of the government. There had been no question as to the title. The bare, rude shack had evidently never been inhabited. Stuckenberg's father had made all the improvements on the premises. On a mere technicality of the law, the claim of the stranger was allowed, and the fruits of four industrious years were swept away for him. The labor which had been spent during this time on the farm in making roads and bridges and all other permanent improvements, remained unacquitted. *Jus strictum* mastered *jus aequum*. Champions of *Interessenjurisprudenz*, like Savigny and Jhering, have claimed that law is to be interpreted according to the measure of interests, the ideas of practical purpose; and that the purpose of law and the interpretation of law do not exist for the sake of "construction," for the development of concepts, but for the sake of life. Law exists for the sake of its meaning, its intention. A literalistic interpretation, sweeping aside the "logical interpretation" causes conflict with the meaning of the law, which is to serve all the people. It is a procedure in *fraudem legis* if it is made for the purpose of getting the better of justice, of justice tempered with fairness. But the difference between what the German jurists call *Buchstabenjurisprudenz* and *Interessenjurisprudenz* was likely unknown to those who passed on the claims of that stranger and ejected Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg from the territory which he had found a wilderness and, by the sweat of his brow and the toil of his hand, assisted by wife and son, had transformed into a promising farm.

Once more Hermann Rudolph Stuckenberg had to move. He had lost his land in Osnabrück, because of the resistance of nature. He had now lost his land in America because of artificial interpretation of law. Thus, again, he was landless. It took two years before even the bare price of what he had paid too the Land Office was refunded. Due to this shabby deal, the family returned to Cincinnati. Hermann Rudolph, it seems, never again made an effort to own a piece of land. He went back to his trade, but was

restive unless he could make seasonal visits to the farms of his sons-in-law, where he could work in air and sunshine.

This tragedy in Indiana made the father again entirely dependent on the labor of his hands for all expense of support. But he and his wife were not bitter. They accepted the circumstances of life with the resignation of some of the age-old sayings, as for example "Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan," a sentence appearing often in their correspondence of the years immediately following.



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CHAPTER IV

“Bundle Boy” and Clerk in Cincinnati  
(1849-1852)

§ 1. In School—Volunteer Fireman

THE DISASTER related in the previous chapter broke the spirit of the father, but proved to be opportunity for the son. That the boy had not been wholly satisfied in the backwoods was manifest in the torment of longing that seized him at times. However, there is no warrant for supposing that the farm in the woods might not have held him captive as long as his parents had chosen to remain on it. One can not conceive of his abandoning them.

Driven thence, they returned to Cincinnati, renting a house on Locke Street, only a square from the Everding & Erkenbrecher's starch factory. The room beneath the story level of the street was turned into a carpenter shop where the father made boxes for the starch factory. Simple as was this home, the son made no friends whom he did not desire to acquaint with it. At first he entered a public school and worked for his board with a Quaker lady, Mrs. Mercy Mitchell, distinguished for works of charity and other public services. Here he waited on the table, and took care of the horse and the cow, quickly learning American ways in this his first American home. In this cultured family he enjoyed many new advantages. Most treasured among them was the freedom of the library, where he discovered his passion for books, appropriating also those stored in the garret, and winning from the family the playful name of “our literary driver.”

At this time, his one temptation to escapades lay in the attractions at night of the volunteer fire department, its en-

gines being run by hand and the service depending on the volunteer aid from men and boys to whom the work might appeal. The rush, the excitement, the sight of a burning building were overwhelming attractions for the country lad. At the first alarm of fire at night, he would slip from the house and take his place at the engine. During one of the winters, the engine sometimes would retaliate by taking a turn at running the volunteers, in getting beyond their control on one of the steep icy hills. After some such adventure by night, it would prove necessary next morning for Mercy Mitchell to call: "Willyum! Willyum! Thee must go for the cow." Turning from the foot of the stairs she would continue, "I wonder what it means that Willyum has to be called this morning!" Lest his public service might be prohibited, young Stuckenberg did not reveal the cause of such unusual attacks of heavy sleep. As regards other initiative, he was having scant leisure; and, besides, there was an alert brother at hand, strict to observe what use he made of his time.

He now began to cherish close affection for his brother Henry, six years his senior, who had married in 1850, had a home, and was working as a clerk in a store. Henry was one of five or six young men leaders in the First English Lutheran Church who met together for worship in the little red brick church building on Lime Street. His first care was to bring his brother into contact with the pastor of this church, William Henry Harrison.

§ 2. At the Store—Enthusiasm for Jenny Lind and for Ludwig Kossuth

On leaving school, Stuckenberg began a diary, a present from his sister, Eliza. It opens with the words, "I am sixteen years old to-day," and faithfully records his sources of interest during the year 1851. It is written in English, in a boyish hand, with occasional lapses in orthography and capitalization.

He is now employed as an errand or "bundle boy" in the dry goods store of "Padgett, 167 Main Street, West side,

between Fourth and Fifth," as a business card stated it. The business seems to interest him, as he regularly notes the state of the weather, whether "pleasant day," "muddy," "cool day," "dreadfully hot," "dreadfully cold," and whatever else affects the trade—like seasonal change and holidays. The diary records his satisfaction when he has an unusually large package to convey to patrons. Now and then a day's business proves brisk enough to require a wheelbarrow for delivering goods. His dealings as employee are with Mr. Padgett, whose influence he afterward remembered with gratitude. He notes the amount of his daily sales, sometimes about ten dollars, and the store's, about one hundred. He records the firemen's processions and those got up by political parties. He witnesses the chase for a fugitive slave who is overtaken and brought to the Mayor's office. His curiosity being excited in civic government, he goes to the City Hall to see the City Council organized. A course of lectures under the auspices of the Mercantile Association interests him deeply, also the temperance lectures of John B. Gough, then visiting Cincinnati. He notes family occurrences. But frequently he registers the day as "very dull." Sometimes one word records the event or the impression of the day. On a fly leaf he pens that Marie, his half sister, died "in cholera," July 11, 1849.

For the year 1851 such notations as the following occur:

January: (8) I went to a very large fire, on Deer Creek, at 10 o'clock P. M. (9) Nothing occurred worth noticing. (13) It is a most Delightful Evening. (20) I went and took supper with my sister Catherine. (28) It is a rainy muddy day. I intended to hear the lecture before the Mercantile Library but it was too windy to go. (29) It is dreadful windy and cold. I took Liza to Church and Charley Everding took her back, there were only 5 females at church. (31) It is still very cold. I heard that the steamer John Acbanus sunk betw. here and New Orleans, 108 lives lost.

February: (7) I had to go home alone in the evening and put a stone in my pocket. (10) I seen them take a fugitive slave (a woman and a child) to the mayor's office. (15) I sent a very sweet Valentine to sister Eliza. (17) Eliza got her Valentine and suspected me. (21) We received 8 cases and 2 boxes new goods. (22) This is Washington's birthday and the soldiers are parading. A good many canons fired.

March: (8) Busy. (13) Busy. They commenced watering our streets. (16) I went to hear Mr. Harrison lecture on the Augsburg

Confession. (29) This is rather a dull day and rather warm. I found a dollar bill this morning. Mr. Padgett gave me a dollar for finding 10 Do[llars] gold pieces.

April: (6) I had 7 scholars this morning. I took communion in our church. (9) Mitchel & Rammelsberg's store burnt down. John Everding lost his hat in the fire.

The family had musical interests. And the meetings of a singing society at his home and among friends find regular mention in the diary. Unlike the rest of the family, he was no singer. He could not carry a tune, but he loved to listen to good music. For him the great event of the year was the presence of Jenny Lind in Cincinnati. During one week in April, the daily entries concern the great singer:

[April:] (12) A great excitement to day. Jenny Lind came in town this morning at 8 o'clock. (14) This is rather a busy day. Jenny Lind's first Ticket brought \$5.80. She sung tonight. (15) I saw Jenny Lind riding in a carriage up Broad, this afternoon at one o'clock. (17) Jenny Lind won't sing on good Friday, so she sings to night. (19) Jenny Lind had her likeniss taken this afternoon. (21) Jenny Lind sings to night. I heard her on the outside. (22) Jenny Lind gives her last concert to night. I offered the[m] a Dollar, but they would not let me in. (23) I went to the managerie at night with Daniel and William and we saw all the animals. This is a dull day.

May 15: Warm. Business brisk. Singing at our house in the Evening. Henry Wellmann got run over this morning by engine. Died in  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour. (18) Harrison gone to Synod. I went to the Catholic church in evening. (21) We took the stove down. Church in Evening.

June: (7) Dutch Feast. Mr. Padgett went to hear them sing. 400 of them. (9) Shouting Dancing singing and jumping out on Vine St. Hill. (17) Great Triumph of the Temperance men to Day, a great majority against License.

July: (1) Cold for July. Very busy. Sold over \$100 cash. (12) Cool morning. Margaret Phillip's wife died to day. Mary got a little girl about 8 o'clock P. M. (14) Davies museum and a good many stores burnt this morning at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one. (25) I got a boil on my neck.

September: (21) Great fire. Coddington's Chair factory and about 16 houses burnt on Vine and Columbia. (22) Engine house burnt.

October: (13) Great procession of Democrats in the evening.

November: (9) We went into our new church to day. We had 184 scholars. Bible class taught by Mr. Neff. (27) This is Thanksgiving Day. We shut up at 11 o'clock.

December: (1) Beautiful Day, There was a great Riot at Mr. M. factory of about 500 Germans. (23) We are busy measuring. It is very cold. I walked across the river on the ice. (23) We sell a good many Christmas presents. (24) I went to the prayer meeting in the evening. Santa Claus was at our house in the evening. (29) I told Mr. Padgett I was going to leave. He didn't like



it a bit. (30) We are very busy taking stock. Mr. Padgett seems very sorry. (31) I told Mr. Padgett I was going to stay. He gave me the \$2. I went to Prayer meeting for the Last time in old 1851.

His only purchase of literature during the year was a gift-book for his sister Eliza, and a church almanac for himself. The greater part of his wages was required for living expenses, as he was paying two dollars a week for board at home. His brother was collecting money for renovating their church, and Stuckenberg records his satisfaction in having two dollars to contribute for the purpose, since that church, the First English Lutheran, was the main source of many of his privileges and opportunities. Regularly he would be present at two preaching services on Sunday and at the Sunday school of his church.

Mr. Peter Rudolph Neff, an eminent layman, was conducting an afternoon mission school on Court Street, and enlisted the Stuckenberg brothers among his pupils, later to become his helpers. They appreciated his work both as teacher of a Bible class and as superintendent of the school. Stuckenberg was given a class to teach. His parents remained faithful to the German church, finding in Pastor Sauer (Suhr?) a man of exemplary influence.

At sometime within, or immediately after, this period, an incident occurred which stirred him as much as the visit of Jenny Lind. The Hungarian statesman, Ludwig Kossuth, during his stay in this country seeking to further his cause, visited Cincinnati. His eloquence moved young Stuckenberg to collect among his boy friends a contribution to promote Hungarian freedom. To present the gift, he obtained audience at the hotel with the Patriot for himself and his comrades.

At this stage the boy regarded what little money he could earn as capital that should be put to use immediately. The idea of accumulating anything for himself was still foreign to him. His first investments were in books, and his father had to make a "book case" for him.

He had started at the store in July, 1850, and left it in July 1852. The value of three years of renewed city life in a city like Cincinnati was inestimable for a boy with

Stuckenberg's background. Cincinnati was the most populous city of the western states, and fifth in size and importance among all the cities in the Union, remarkable for its rapid growth, extensive trade, and productive industry. Its population increased from 115,000, in 1850, to 160,186, in 1853. It was distinguished for its literary and benevolent institutions. The number of steam boat arrivals a year was put at 3,700. The total value of manufacturing productions for the year 1851 was \$55,000,000. The city had three colleges, fifteen public schools accomodating 7,500 children. It published twelve daily and twenty weekly newspapers. Four of the dailies and four of the weekly journals were in German. The Mercantile Library Association consisted of 2,300 members, and had a library of 13,000 volumes. At the Mechanics Institute, fairs were held and lectures delivered for the promotion of mechanic arts. Cincinnati was also a city of many churches, of chartered banks and other instruments of credit and finance. The City Library contained 80,000 volumes. Robert Clark, who arrived at the city in 1840, became a bookseller and a publisher of many works. His bookstore was spoken of as the literary focus of the city and adjoining states. A Chicago publisher once asked him, "How can you sell such quantities of higher class scientific works, books of thinkers and great specialists?" Cincinnati also claimed the largest furniture factory in the world, employing 1,500 workmen, that of Mitchell and Rammelsberg, the latter a German.

The German element exerted a large influence on the politics and business of Cincinnati, also on its development of music, painting, and sculpture. There were several Germans of great prominence in the community. The first mayor of the city was David Ziegler, a German. Another well known German was Martin Baum, a banker and promoter, mayor in the early tens of the century. He was one of the founders of the Cincinnati Literary Society, in 1818; of the Apollos Society, in 1824; and of the Society for Vocal and Instrumental Music. His large, hospitable home was open to all intellectually great men who visited

Cincinnati. Being engaged in many projects and needing reliable laborers, he brought many Germans to the city. Christian Burkhalter was a German of note. William Nast, who had studied with David Strauss at Tübingen, became the father of German Methodism in America. He persuaded many to study in German universities. Cincinnati's fine Zoological Garden received the support of Andrew Erkenberger. The pioneers of music were Germans. The Männerchöre of Cincinnati held the first national Sängerfest in 1846.

Cincinnati was also the home of Alice and Phoebe Cary; of Catherine Beecher, who in 1832 arrived at Walnut Hills; and of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote her novel *Uncle Tom* in Maine, but doubtless got much of her knowledge about the Negro in Cincinnati.

The sum total of this actuality could not fail to impress a youth like Stuckenberg, broaden his horizon, teach him the ways of the mercantile and manufacturing world and acquaint him a little with what is called culture. He was happy in making friendships that lasted for life. One of them was that of Peter Rudolph Neff, already mentioned, who became one of the city's most valued citizens in affairs of art and religion and in public welfare. Neff became president of the Philharmonic Orchestra. He helped to found Cincinnati College of Music, and later became also its president. The other friendship Stuckenberg made at this time was that of Dr. William Henry Harrison, from 1846 to 1866 pastor of the church to which Stuckenberg belonged. He was instrumental in persuading Stuckenberg to go to college, to study for the ministry. Mr. Shillito, who had watched the youth in Padgett's store and who later became a leading merchant, emphatically protested: "You are cut out for business. It will be a pity to spoil a good merchant in order to make a preacher." However, Stuckenberg abided by the counsel of Rev. Harrison, and went to College.

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## CHAPTER V

# Student at Wittenberg College (1852-1858)

### § 1. The Era of Small Colleges and "Universities"

STUDENTS desirous of attending a college in the United States before 1860 hardly had any other choice than a church-related college. Higher education sponsored by the state still was in its infancy. There were a few state universities before 1860, but they were not materially different from denominational colleges. They often maintained the non-denominational character only by preserving a proper balance among the different denominations represented on the faculty. Of 246 colleges established by 1860, only seventeen were state institutions, and but two or three others had any state connections.

The attendance was in proportion to the small faculties. About 1855, Oberlin College had the largest attendance of all colleges in our country, 1,188 students. Harvard came next with 710, and Yale with 605. The faculty instructors in these three institutions numbered 23, 45, 39 respectively. Besides these, only two other colleges had more than twenty instructors.

Ohio University, at Athens, had six instructors and 177 students. Miami University had eight instructors and 119 students. Dennison came next with a faculty of five and a student body of 100. Marietta had 62, Ohio Wesleyan 57, and Wittenberg had 37 students, the latter two had seven instructors each. The University of Michigan had seventeen professors and 64 students. Wisconsin University had five professors and 23 students.

The college libraries generally contained less than 20,000



volumes each. Most of them had less than 10,000. Ohio University had 8,000; Dennison, 7,000; Ohio Wesleyan, 5,400; and Wittenberg, 4,500 volumes. Exceptions were Harvard with 98,000 volumes; Yale with 54,000; Brown with 32,000; Bowdoin with 28,000; Dartmouth with 31,000; Georgetown with 26,000; South Carolina with 22,000.

A School of Law at most had three professors, some two, and some only one. Harvard had the largest attendance of students of Law, 143; the University of Virginia followed with 87. The largest faculty of Medicine could point to ten instructors; the largest faculty of Theology to six.

Stuckenberg entered Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, in the summer of 1852. The city lay less than one hundred miles from Cincinnati. The college was founded as a Lutheran institution in 1845, but had already existed for one year, with Ezra Keller as president, who received his first year's salary from a Congregational group promoting Christian education in the West. The leading mind of the school was its president, Samuel Sprecher, a pupil of S. S. Schmucker, of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Arrived at the college, Stuckenberg was installed in a room on the fourth floor, from which the window commanded a beautiful view, which he described in a letter to his parents. The room needed a thorough scrubbing, and the walls were thirsting for whitewash. He scrubbed, whitewashed and also gave the stove a proper shine and supplied the room with the most needed furniture.

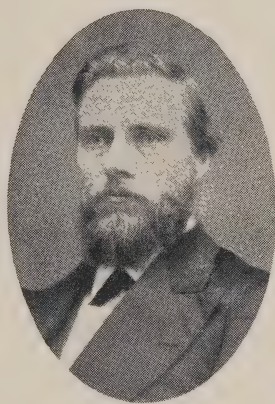
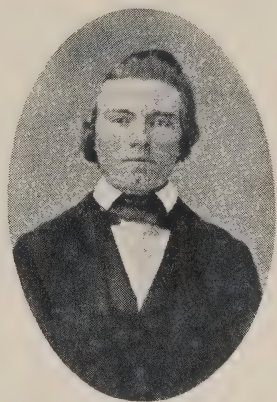
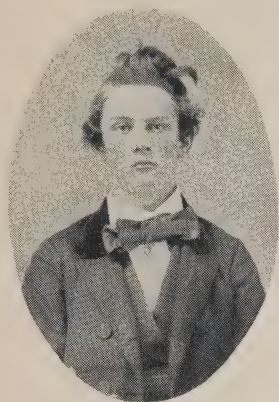
§ 2. The Eager Student—Admiration for Dr. Sprecher—The Horse That "Went through College" and Other Pranks—Book Agent—Social Worker

He entered the Preparatory Department. Carnegie "units" were still a mystery to schoolmen, and the school atmosphere was less charged with the time element than now. The claim that time is rather *kairos* (season, qualitative) than *chronos* (extension, quantitative) was also unknown. The element of verticality commanded more re-

spect than now, when horizontality too often suffices. Stuckenberg made rapid progress in his studies; but, at first, he painfully discovered that there was so much that he had never experienced. The writing of a composition was required of him. He did not know what the word meant. When he was told to select the subject about which he knew most, he was aghast. He thought that must be Ohio; but even on that theme he could not fill a page of foolscap. He decided that never had any boy arrived at college so ignorant as himself. Having made this inventory, he began to stock up. Whatever the curriculum was, he soon made the contents of Watts's *On the Mind* and Thompson's *Seasons* his own.

The college curriculum was of the usual type for those times. All students were studying the same subjects: English, German, Latin, Greek; Mathematics; Natural Science with a few experiments, often called Philosophy; and Philosophy proper. Stuckenberg's handwriting underwent a strange change from the boyish penmanship in his diary. He writes letters, to his relatives and friends, as well as essays: now in German, in even, angular German script; then in English, in rounded, lightly shaded letters of a decided Spencerian touch—all artistic—different from his masculine, matter-of-fact, larger handwriting of later years. He teases his sister for writing in Low German. His English vocabulary becomes large.

He writes about his studies, his roommates, his experiences. As time went on he became dissatisfied with the instruction he was receiving in Latin, and particularly in Greek. He liked Hezekiah Geiger in Mathematics, but cared but little for Diehl and Isaac Sprecher in the classical languages. He partook in "extra-curricular" activities. He was teacher, and later superintendent of a colored "Sabbath School," principally maintained by students. He was a member of the literary and debating society known as "Excelsior"; and he raised, pensively, in a letter a question whether he could ever get the "honor of the platform." There was at the College another society similar in kind,



J. H. W. STUCKENBERG IN HIS TEENS, TWENTIES,  
AND FORTIES



HIS PARENTS



HIS MOTHER WITH TWO MEMBERS OF THE  
FAMILY



"The Philosophical Literary Society." He early showed a liking for literary pursuits and obtained distinction in "Excelsior" as a debater. When the two societies had a contest, in March 1857, the year in which he graduated, Stuckenberg debated; George P. Sprecher read an essay; and D. W. Kissel was the orator. The motto of "Excelsior" was *Perge modo*. This society was the subject of much animation in letters exchanged by its members, showing that it had a deserving place in the education fostered prior to the Civil War. Stuckenberg also took vocal lessons in a class taught by a Springfield instructor who gave sixteen lessons to a group for one dollar from each student. He also took a few private lessons in French.

His expenses amounted to sixty dollars a year, tuition varying between eighteen and twenty-six dollars a year, and board being from seventy cents to one dollar and a half a week. His brother sent him a pair of shoes, made to order, also a suit of clothes made by his sister Eliza and his wife, both trained needle women, happy to serve in providing the collegiate wardrobe, all three gifted persons who brightened his life with their natural joyousness, meeting his playfulness with theirs. Stuckenberg consoles Henry who was complaining about a "godless" preacher in Cincinnati, which numbered not a few Atheists among the Germans. He goes to the prayer meeting, generally attended by some fifteen students. He writes poetry of his own, in a humorous vein, and often concludes a letter with a poem which he had found worth copying for further transmission. He makes comments on sermons, lectures, revivals. He finds the majority of students law-abiding, though he mentions one who received six years penitentiary for housebreaking and thieving. Some were his rivals for honors; "yes, hate me, because I study hard. I am, however, not discouraged, but perfectly satisfied with my situation." He got the honors. "Gloom" overtakes him now and then, and he again feels that things are getting "dull". He was an omniverous reader, and he had the reputation of having read every book in the Library.

The great exerting power over his life then was the President of the institution, Dr. Sprecher, whose colleague on the Faculty he became several years later. The Sprecher family admitted him to their social circle. So intimate was his relation with the eldest son, George, that at his death, Mrs. Sprecher, presented Stuckenberg with a watch that had been carried by the deceased. Dr. Sprecher was, besides president, teacher in the upper classes of the College; theological professor; financial agent, traveling much in the interest of the school and sacrificing every year a good portion of his salary. Upon him rested also the burden of discipline. That there was need of the latter, is evident from the following letter of Stuckenberg, written at the end of his Freshman year:

This session we have been troubled by students sent here by their father, the Devil, to disturb the peaceful rest of us all. One night some person or persons pressed on a chair, and thus pushed it through one of the halls, frightening one student so bad that he couldn't sleep another wink all night. On another night some stones were rolled through the building; on another, many fire crackers were placed in an old bucket and fired off with a noise like the report of a gun; and at last Saturday night our C----- H----- was burnt down. This last thing, I suppose, was done on account of the passage of the Nebraska Bill. Such revenge, how awful! The perpetrators are unknown, or else they would be severely dealt with. The Doctor [Sprecher] is especially grieved and he seldom mentions such occurrences to the students, which is a hard task for him, namely to reprove, without a tear trembling in his eye.

He relates about the steward's finding a handful of sand on three dishes of butter, for which he next morning gave the students a lecture on "Gentlemanly manners"; about some students who threw burning paper balls, and then water from the fourth story at some ladies walking below. In boylike fashion he details how the fourth story came to be called the "one horse story," how one night "scamps" brought up a horse to this story making the building shake. Bill Simmons, the owner, brought the nag down after much trouble and excitement, and "thinks the horse is worth \$200 more now because he has been through college. Our story, on which I room, has ever since been called the 'one horse story.'"

Stuckenberg's surplus of fun making energy found an

outlet not in pranks—he studiously observed good conduct—but in letterwriting, which must have given as much amusement to the receiver as to the sender. He states his reason: “I suppose you wonder sometimes, how I can write so much nonsense and whether I always feel as the spirit of my letter would indicate. I will tell you how it is. I study all day, visit very little and never scarcely twist my mouth to laugh. The reason, then, why I feel so lively just now is, not because I generally feel so, but because I seldom ever feel so. Serious subjects are indeed more worthy of our intention; but my mind is almost wholly given to them and I would forget to be pleasant, if I did not once in a while give way to a pleasing emotion.”

He is interested in having a German religious paper published in Cincinnati. It was needed by the German population, “there being, I believe, no such periodical published there.” He was concerned about “making a few dimes” and therefore set out, on one of his vacations, as a book agent. He visited Stuckenbergsville, Jackson County, Indiana, where his parents and two married sisters were living. He next came to Harrison and to other towns where he thought he could find customers. He was selling a work by a Mr. Benton, a *Life of Christ*, a *History of Nations*, *The great Red Dragon*, and *Pioneers and Letters*. He relates one of his experiences: Selling only a few copies, he paid sixty-five cents for a ride in an omnibus, walked ten miles to save forty-five cents; finally he came to a family that had had supper. He got water and corn bread—he called it “jailfood”—and went to bed. He rose at five, did not get a “morsel of food except the juice of two apples, till noon when I received at Seymour such things as

Bread and biscuit made of dough  
And many others I do not know.  
But it is certain, they did cook  
Some things that did quite dirty look.

“I ate, got enough, went on a wagon to Dulley town, walked the rest of the way, got lost once, was set right by the crowing of a rooster, got to father’s a little before dusk, went into the house without their knowing it, drank nearly

all their milk (for I was very thirsty), went out, saw mother, bid her good evening, gave her a kiss, shook hands with father (who came after a while), told them about matters and things, and did so much more that I cannot remember and besides would be of little interest.

"This is a brief account of my arrival into the country, where the inhabitants chiefly inquire, whether pork is made from hogs yet, and whether the town folks still make bread from wheat. These questions are above all others, and if answered by 'Yes Sir,' all is right. The children are not very smart, for, as Mr. Alsup says (and he knows) 'they haven't much larnin'."

§ 3. Analysis of Self—Orations—Essays—Valedictorian—Student of Theology

On January 6, 1855, he writes that he is twenty years old. He had once thought, he says, that he at this age would be fit to be married. "I have other hopes now which eclipse the others . . . I expect one day to be a minister of the Gospel, to do much good unto my fellow men and to fulfil the most sanguine expectations of my friends."

In August, of the same year, writing from home, to a friend, he says: "I write very little nowadays. Fiction and poetry I will not write. I leave it for those to write these things who thereby think to benefit mankind as much as by any other writing. Philosophy is too deep a subject to write on during vacation or it should be my every theme. You know I always placed it before any other study and subject, not because it is easy or pleasant, but because it has in it the true kernel of all things. Without knowing some of it, a man is not a man."

At the age of twenty, Stuckenberg thus expressed what lines of study he would mainly pursue in his life. First, he wanted to be a theologian; second, a philosopher. And before the year was out he gave expression to a third choice which he was to pursue just as ardently as the other two; he wanted to be a sociologist, though this was stated by him less in words than in attitudes. He showed great in-



terest in temperance work, in working among the Negroes, in contributing to the upbuilding of "Excelsior", in his condemning attitude toward destructive behavior, his disgust for filthy-minded and filthy-mouthed folk's utterances, "too filthy for any ears but those of strumpets, human beasts and demons." He heard conversations of this order when helping the hands in thrashing at his brother-in-law's.

Matters of state interested him. His first German oration, in 1854, favored the Turks against the Russians, who were at war with each other. He thought he could see that a Russian victory would mean a victory for the Greek Catholic Church, which, allying itself with Roman Catholicism, would crush Protestantism. He hoped that our country would blaze the way for freedom and that it would be followed by the bold spirit of Italy, the patriotic sons of Poland and Hungary, Kossuth leading, and by the men of Germany.

This oration together with several other papers preserved from his college days, gives us an idea as to what channels his mind then was traveling: "Essay on Happiness," "Meditation," "What Belongs to Mathematics," "Verses for an Album," "Rules for Drawing, by Professor E. H. Rothschild," and his "Valedictory."

Material for his last two years in College is scarce. Two professors had resigned, leaving the entire care of the College in hands of three, one of whom was Dr. Sprecher, whose load of being sole instructor in the Department of Theology almost amounted to spectacular cruelty. One was saintly and inefficient. Victor Conrad could not teach Greek, and the students petitioned for his removal, Stuckenberg indignantly signing his name to the petition.

The time for graduation approached. Stuckenberg had attended Wittenberg College for five years. Commencement (the seventh) was held June 25, 1857. He graduated with first honors of the class and pronounced the valedictory. His friend William Gebhard, holding second honors, pronounced the Latin Salutatory. The Valedictory, of about 1500 words, was addressed to four groups: "Ladies

and Gentlemen of Springfield," "Fellow Students and Companions," "Beloved Teachers," and finally "Dear Classmates,"—each part ending with an "affectionate Farewell." In one place of the address, we read: "Beloved Teachers, Fellow Students and Companions: If we faithfully follow the precepts impressed both by precept and example, and if we fairly represent the institution with which we have been connected, we shall not advocate narrow contracted systems and bigoted doctrines but sound philosophy and true religion."

"Sound philosophy and true religion" became the guiding star in the life of Stuckenberg.

During his years in College, he made many friends. Prominent among them were C. L. Ehrenfeld, A. M. Geiger, F. W. Keil, A. Meyers, C. F. Stelling, S. H. Weller, all graduates of the class of 1856. Among former graduates he especially cherished the friendship of A. H. Aughe, William H. Wynn, Daniel Schindler, Samuel Domer. For many years he kept up correspondence with these alumni. Friends of his from these or the immediately subsequent years, with whom he likewise stood in devoted correspondence, were I. K. Funk, Samuel Ort, Henry Belmer, H. L. Wiles, J. B. Helwig, J. D. Severinghaus, J. F. Schaffer, J. C. Brod-führer, C. K. Shunk.

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After graduation from College, Stuckenberg spent one more year (1857-1858) at Wittenberg, during which he studied Theology. One year was all the Theological Department offered. Short as the course of Theology was in those days at Wittenberg, there was some compensation in having Dr. Sprecher as a teacher. Stuckenberg never forgot what he owed to this gifted teacher, great heart, and indefatigable worker, with whom he was to associate again—as a colleague in the Seminary. In 1858 he left Wittenberg as a graduate in Theology, his face set toward the West.

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## CHAPTER VI

### Minister at Davenport, Iowa

(September 1858—August 1859)

#### § 1. Pioneer Work on the Shores of the Upper Mississippi

D AVENPORT, IOWA, received its earliest settlers in 1833 and was incorporated in 1851. Situated on the right bank of the Mississippi, about 160 miles west of Chicago and 60 miles east of Iowa City, and connected with both cities by a newly built railroad, its population had increased from about 4,500, in 1852, to 11,267, in 1860. It was a German and English speaking city. Two Lutheran pastors, Daniel Garver, then a mere youth, a graduate of Gettysburg College, and Jacob Steck, a graduate of Wittenberg College, had been attempting to build a Lutheran church in Davenport. Each had worked there for fifteen months and resigned. Steck, anxious to have Stuckenberg succeed him, wrote to him, July 15, 1858, "It is unquestionably your duty to come." Some of the people had united in building a church and were anxious to support a preacher. He overruled Stuckenberg's objection that pulpit German set higher requirements than conversational German and that an intense study of German would affect his use of English, and wrote that the "Tempter" was suggesting these difficulties, which were to be terminated by a "Get thee behind me, Satan." Steck's own bit of offered temptation was that the church building was to be 35 feet wide and 55 feet long; it would be ready to raise before the close of July. It was "good sized and neat. Come, Come, Come, Come! The Lord has a work for you here." Two weeks later Steck wrote again. He was suffering from the "dumb ague" and was about to leave. Stuckenberg should come

by September first, when, as it was hoped, a room in the new church would be ready for service. He again mentioned German, and imparted the information that Dr. Sprecher had learned most of his German after he had become a preacher, and that his congregation was satisfied with it. Of course, Stuckenberg should not study "too much" of it.

These letters and the prospect of congenial companionship at Davenport helped Stuckenberg to make up his mind for the West. A. S. Kissell, superintendent of common schools in the city, was also superintendent of the Lutheran Sunday school. His helper was S. H. Weller, a Wittenberg College graduate, class of 1856. Kissell's fiancée was Miss Mary A. Scofield, who had been a member of the household of Henry Ward Beecher, in Cincinnati. She was First Assistant in the Intermediate [High] School, corner of Seventh and Perry Streets. To this group belonged also L. H. Mitchell, Principal in "School No. 2, and Grammar School No. 1," later an officer in the army, graduate student in Germany, and an engineer in Egypt. The friendship he formed with Stuckenberg at Davenport lasted through life. Mr. Kissell was the soul in the project of constructing the church building and made himself responsible for a relatively large contribution of money at a time when the rate of interest was ten per cent.

On September 17, 1858, Stuckenberg arrived at his first pastorate. He came with misgivings. The long ride over the vast prairies, stretching their limitless extent along both sides of the track, riveted his attention for a long time. This sight, he wrote, would have filled his mind with rapturous delight, had it not been for the memory of the many friends whose parting words were still ringing in his ears. One hour after his arrival, he found Kissell and Weller. His first impressions of the city were favorable. He was "much pleased with it." Some of the buildings appeared magnificent to him, and the surrounding country very beautiful.

He preached his first sermon, September 26, in the partly



finished basement of the church. The upper room, which was to seat from 300 to 400 people, was expected to be ready in the summer of the following year. Money was scarce. Very little had been paid on the church. There were only fifteen American members in it with some means. As to the many Germans in the city, they were mostly either altogether indifferent to religion or open infidels, in Stuckenberg's eyes, as he then saw things. He expected to preach in German on three Sundays a month in the afternoon, and in English every Sunday morning. He thought he would try the field for six months. He felt discouraged and the outlook was not bright. "How often have I longed to hide in my lonely cell within the quiet walls of Wittenberg." The society, however, which he enjoyed was pleasant and "well cultivated." Six women and two men—all teachers—roomed and boarded in the same house. He had no connection with the local college, and was not interested in it.

"Those German skeptics will, I suppose, be among your greatest hindrances, but there is nothing to be made arguing with them," wrote his friend, Charles L. Ehrenfeld, who had graduated from Wittenberg one year before Stuckenberg. To build a church, he assured him, was the achievement of a lifetime: "Courage, my soul, while God is near, What enemy hast thou to fear?" Ehrenfeld was beaming happiness at the great Republican victory, "The Democrats are most thoroughly defeated." He passed the information along to Stuckenberg, who also was a Republican, having cast his first political vote for John C. Fremont, the Republican nominee in 1856.

§ 2. Discouragements and Encouragements—Soliciting Funds in Ohio

Kissell, in starting to erect the church, had proceeded at his own initiative and almost without consulting the members of the congregation. The English section of it was displeased at this. The site he had chosen was indeed one of commanding beauty, but lay outside the zone of improve-

ment. In favorable weather there seemed to be no reason for discontent with its selection. But in times of snow or rain, it was inaccessible by reason of the depth of the mud. A floor was laid, the window frames were covered with canvas. Through the generosity of the people in Cincinnati, "church stoves" were obtained. But the church building was not completed, for want of funds to pay off the debt to the workmen. An added dilemma was the demand of the former pastor, Steck, to collect the salary due him.

Stuckenberg, after a few weeks, went East, to Ohio, to get subscriptions for the church. Rev. F. W. Conrad endorsed the project in a letter written in November, 1858, and addressed to the "Ministry and Laity of the Evangelical Church," asking for coöperation with Stuckenberg. Conrad himself subscribed one hundred dollars. Stuckenberg received favorable hearings and fair subscriptions. The Mission Society promised \$240, but gave only \$100. He returned in January, 1859, with greater zest than at his first arrival. The German language, he reported, was now much easier for him. He visited German families; but they "seem to think if they are only baptized and confirmed, all is well." He was still discouraged. Times were hard, business dull. Some three to four thousand people had left the city within one year, and the Pike's Peak fever, it was thought, would entice away many more in the spring. Activity, he discovered, is the enemy of lonesomeness, and he found himself busy visiting families.

The members of his church were much scattered over the prairie. It was difficult for them to come to church and for him to visit them. Three of the families lived five miles away from the Iowa line, in Illinois. The wealthiest family in the church was soon going west. He was now rooming in the "parsonage back of the church" and taking his meals one half mile away from the church, with one of its members who boarded him for his subscription to the pastor's salary. The German congregation was increasing. Writing a German sermon, he reports, was a "hard day's work" for him. The weather was very changeable; in twenty-four

hours all the seasons could be represented, in warm sunshine; violent winds; cold frost and snow; thunder and lightning, rain and hail. After all, he was "laboring patiently and contentedly. Little cares no longer disturb me."

However, he had his cares—cares sufficient to make known in June—he had been ordained in May, 1859—his decision to resign. The knowledge of this immediately brought the congregation in commotion. Some members were very sad, some even wept. They foresaw the death of the church, since there would be no hope of reorganizing, and immediately raised a subscription of four hundred dollars, which together with the contribution from the Home Mission, would net the pastor a salary of five hundred dollars. Stuckenberg was greatly surprised. He expressed that he had not seen the likes of reaction: it seemed as if he were a relative of every member. Elated, he stated in a letter to his brother that he should move to Davenport, where he could be twice as useful in church work as in Cincinnati; but the times were too uncertain for coming west. He then asks his brother whether his Sunday school would not give ten dollars for the much needed "child's paper." Could he not also approach the "Sabbath school," conducted by Mr. Neff, in Cincinnati, for a little help, because the Sunday school cause among the Germans needed special encouragement.

The emotional outburst of the people was also witnessed by Daniel Schindler, a Wittenberg College graduate of 1853, who chanced to be visiting Davenport. He stated that he had never before seen a people that had become so warmly attached to their minister in so short a time. Weller, who had gone to Ohio, reported general satisfaction at Stuckenberg's decision to remain. Mrs. Walter Gunn, widow of a missionary to India, and now living in Springfield, where she had been like a mother to Stuckenberg, was happy to hear the news. She had been asked by Kissell to come to Davenport to teach in the public schools and to help in Sunday school work.

A further reaction of Stuckenberg to all this was to

order from his brother some copies of *Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbücher* at the lowest price—and a “black silk neck-tie.” The General Synod, attended by Kissell, had voted eight hundred dollars to the church, though this act of consideration in no way affected Stuckenberg’s decision to stay.

§ 3. The Fight against Geography and against German 1848’ers—  
An Essay in Apologetics—An Evanescent Flame—Religious  
Doubt—Overcoming Relatives’ Objections to His Going to  
Germany

But soon again the hopeless location of the church loomed up before the pastor’s mind. Everybody was complaining about it. He had, moreover, been thinking about going to Germany to study. “I believe,” he wrote to his brother, “I would do much more good—at present—at least in some other field. Is it then my duty to remain? I believe that by going to Germany, I can prepare myself for more usefulness than I can ever accomplish by not going there. Ought I then not to go? Do not think that Germany is out of my head. You speak of the reproach that it would cast upon me by leaving now. There was a time when such a thing might have influenced me—but now it has not the weight of a feather. When I settle a matter with my conscience and my God—*then it is settled*. When I gave myself to the Gospel ministry, I trust I also gave myself to the guidance of God’s Spirit; and that Spirit I expect to obey, and not to follow the opinion of men or even of the church.” Bravely spoken!

In a letter of July 29, 1859, published in the “Lutheran Observer”, Philadelphia, he made what he considered a fair statement of the conditions with which his church had to cope. Kissell thought he drew too dark a picture; some regarded it as exactly right; and others, again, declared it was not dark enough, because “the church never bought the lots.” On August 1, Stuckenberg presented his resignation to take effect in the early part of September. It was accepted at his urgent request. Kissell was anxious to have him remain. Several members even offered to buy a church down town, leaving the present church, debt and all.



He preached his farewell sermon August 28, 1859. He had taken counsel with experienced men, especially with members of the Iowa Synod, who told him they could not see how the church could prosper since times were so hard.

The wife of a physician who with her husband had arrived at Davenport shortly before Stuckenberg left, wrote: "I remember the pastor and his church perfectly. He had found it perched on a hill outside the town, beautiful for site, but not to be approached because of depth of mud in soft weather. The church was by no means finished. The window openings were covered with muslin, and all was bleak and bare. But the minister was full of life, and was getting together a congregation. I meant to continue to attend there, but was hindered by sickness for weeks. When I returned, the church was abandoned. But that occasioned me little surprise. Most everything in Davenport went that way, especially the business places. There was little reliance to be placed on permanence because of the mobility of the population. The railroad was finished, and waves of the people flocked west."

The calling of a successor, in the meantime, was deferred by the Church Council until next spring, though the Sunday school was increasing in members. But the debt was nearly eight thousand dollars! Professor F. Springer, the soul of Hillsboro (Ill.) College, later rechartered as Illinois State University in Springfield, had been unfairly removed as president, and had gone to Des Moines to investigate the possibility of reviving and permanently founding Iowa College. If this could be done, the Synod would at once elect him College president. This would stimulate mission work in Iowa, and bear fruit also for Davenport. However, not before in the seventies, was work in the Lutheran church revived at Davenport.

A geographical factor was a central factor in Stuckenberg's resignation. This made difficult the collection of funds, church attendance, and caused the outlook to appear very doubtful. Kissell, moreover, had made some public statements that estranged the Germans, from whom he had

anticipated great possibilities of success for his church. Stinging pens of editors were turned against him. The German 1848'ers outmatched him. Stuckenberg himself felt that he could not cope with them. Intellectual difficulties barred entrance to their convictions. He retired from the field, in his own estimation practically a defeated man. Nevertheless the retirement was a victory in defeat. To him this element was a challenge to try to secure the sort of training that would enlist the interest of these minds in the field of religion.

What worried him more was religious Doubt assailing him. He tried to answer questions like these: "Had he chosen the right vocation? Was not God abandoning him?" This interrogating of self was the immediate result of his first contact with Doubt claiming for itself a scientific basis. His former contacts had been with people open to the influence of revival meetings. The new contacts shocked him. He was, as yet, the Puritan who could not at all understand the mind that defended the drinking of beer, and going to theatre on Sundays as compatible with Christianity. But Doubt assailed him most.

For deriving self-assurance, for defending himself against the 1848'ers, and for convincing them of their error, he delivered before the Y. M. C. A. of Davenport an essay of 6000 words on the "Value of Scientific Investigation to the Christian." It asserted real harmony between Science and Revelation, because Revelation, Nature, and Mind had the same God as author. If conflicts would arise, they were due to false interpretations of the Bible. The Christian, he asserted, discovers a "personal Deity" in the pebble, the grass, the flower, the brook, and the ocean. Natural theology confirmed the Scriptural idea of God. The church must make its faith "rational" as well as Scriptural. Education and religion are inseparable, their interests mutual.

This essay was in harmony with the text books of the day on Christian Evidence. It stressed God as Creator, paying little attention to God as Incarnation and Spirit, thus risking becoming Deistic thinking on the one hand,

and Pantheistic on the other. He was too much concerned in defending Christianity before the bar of physical science as if it were the sole and supreme tribunal in passing on the validity of religious truth. The intention was good. The theme was warrantable, but the commentary to it less satisfactory. Yet, it was a noble effort of one anxious to learn, even if he had to go abroad for more instruction.

Another element had entered into his life, which made him all the more anxious to leave Davenport. He was in love with a lady in Springfield, Ohio. They corresponded. They were engaged. But he had some misgiving about the depth of her love. He had thought it singular that she did not invite him to her home or did not seek to acquaint members of her family with him. She would meet his question, respecting this with, "We're not like that." She was a teacher of music in the Ladies' Seminary at Springfield, a fine musician, animating in conversation, and altogether of much charm. A remark about housekeeping in one of his letters which was misunderstood by her, led to increasing coldness on her part. The letters grew less frequent, briefer, colder, and finally ceased. His indignation, mingled with grief, was deep. He had failed in the romance of these young years. However, it was his way after every fresh failure, quickly and vigorously to recover his footing and his sanguine joyousness. For the time being, he felt as if his honesty reaped faithlessness. The affair became an episode, though to the loss sustained the embarrassment was added that the matter became known to the congregation, and that his brother for the moment assumed a censorious attitude for his resigning, his losing what gave promise to be his life companion, and his going to Germany. "Father still persists in his refusal to give consent to your going to Germany. You may expect a severe talking to when you get here." Thus even his brother, faithful and affectionate, was unable to understand him. However, his sister "Elza" wrote comfortingly: "O William, I am glad that you are coming, for I want to see you very much. I know that you have had a great deal of trouble lately, and

have no doubt often been discouraged; but may God strengthen you and give you patience that you may be enabled to bear up under all circumstances."

His father, in a letter written August 11, 1859, from Cincinnati, urged him to desist from planning to go to Germany. Sometime before—he reminded his son—he had been wanting more English and less German, but now he wanted German. Had not Dr. Sprecher taught him all he needed? Could that professor in Germany (Tholuck) who had experienced and overcome Doubt save anybody, or even hinder anybody from being saved? Had there not been recently in Germany a conspiracy among the students? Thus, the father.

It was also reported that Professor F. W. Conrad and G. F. Stelling "spoke hard" of Stuckenberg's going to Germany to study. Nevertheless, on his next visit to Cincinnati, he convinced his parents of the wisdom of his step. As the time of bidding farewell arrived, the family was tense with emotion. After pouring out his heart in prayer, he rushed quickly into the garden, his mother following him. "Child, child," she exclaimed, "what a prayer that was. Now I know the Lord is with you in this." The father, too, was reconciled and gave him at the parting, a gift of three dollars, saying, "Heinrich, take this. You will need it. It is all I have."

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Anticipating the sojourn in Germany, told in the next chapter, it may be related here that the lady referred to, made, at Stuckenberg's return from Germany in 1861, overtures for renewal of the broken relationship, arranging in the house of a friend in Springfield a dinner for him and other clergymen. Stuckenberg remained after the dinner. As he was leaving, she accompanied him into the garden. He plucked a rose, gave it to her, and said good-by. Years later, when she was mistress in one of the finest homes in Springfield, she called at his home. They remained ac-



quaintances—he courteous and aloof. Finally, during his stay in Berlin, 1880-1894, she, as widow, brought her son and her step-daughter to the German capital and placed the son under his special care for directing his education. Already in 1860, Stuckenberg had requested of her, through his brother, that his letters written to her be returned to him. She complied with his request.

In his sixties her name cropped up in the course of a conversation with his wife. “I would have married her,” he said, “such was the strength of my attachment. But I thank God it was not to be.” In his opinion, her infatuation with dress would have always obliged him to consider money in all his decisions, which would have been disastrous for him.

His experiences at Davenport had subjected him to a severe test. He had passed it—nobly and well.

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## CHAPTER VII

### In Germany: At the University of Halle (1859-1861)

#### § 1. Yearning Doubt in a Storm on the Atlantic

ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1859, on the Steamer *Batavia*, Stuckenberg left New York for Germany. The voyage was made in second cabin at steerage rate. He was traveling at his own expense, dismissing the thought of possible aid from the Synod, which, he said, had helped him enough before, and relying on two hundred dollars, which he had saved, and on the prospect of earning some money abroad. Nor would he consider accepting aid from his relatives; his father was earning from five to six dollars a week. As an index of the market conditions, it may be related that eggs sold at five cents a dozen, sausage at two cents a pound, and cheese at nine. Financial depression was paralyzing larger collective economic efforts. Man and institution alike felt the effects, which were not confined to Business. Also schools were suffering. Wittenberg College now had only three teachers, and students were leaving it: it was without enterprise.

Before boarding the ship, Stuckenberg called on Rev. Charles F. Stohlmann, who gave him a letter of introduction to the theological professors at the University of Halle. Stohlmann was "pastor of the German Lutheran churches in New York," and had studied at Halle. He had been called to the pastorate of St. Matthew's, in 1838. He wrote a letter of recommendation for Stuckenberg, stating that its bearer brought no "American treasures" with him, but an upright desire to acquire spiritual wealth.

When about half way between New York and England,

the ship, according to Stuckenberg's own description "encountered a terrible equinoctial storm which lasted about thirty-six hours. . . . The ship was rolling and tossing fearfully, as wave after wave dashed over it. The water rushed into the second cabin three times and made the beds wringing wet. On this account, the women and children were transferred from the second to the first cabin. Mr. John Sayer, of Cincinnati, proprietor of the Cottage Garden Nurseries, was assisting when a wave suddenly swept over the ship and washed him overboard. It was about seven o'clock in the evening. Mr. Sayer was much respected by his fellow passengers for his quiet demeanor and gentlemanly conduct." He had promised Stuckenberg that on his return to Cincinnati, in November, he would visit his friends and give an account of the voyage.

It fell, however, to the lot of Stuckenberg to communicate to Cincinnati Mr. Sayer's untimely death. A sailor was also lost and the captain narrowly escaped being swept overboard.

In this terrible storm, with its impenetrable blackness above and beneath, its infernal noise all around, howling and raging against the clouds and ploughing caverns in the ocean deep, Stuckenberg, his "soul downcast by Doubt yet clinging to its Lord," suddenly saw a rift in the dark expanse. A single star, calm and serene, shone in the darkness, a mere point of light and glory in all that world of gloom and horror. To Stuckenberg it gave wondrous comfort and the assurance that merciful God would not condemn one who in his sincerest effort to find Truth was using all the means within his reach to find it. He never forgot this experience. The modern distinction that God reveals himself in Christ and the Spirit, but manifests himself in Nature was unknown to him. He drew comfort from this manifestation, however. Mr. Mitchell, on hearing of his experience, wrote to him: "You had now the opportunity of beholding one of the phenomena, which, before leaving, you expressed a desire to see."

§ 2. Four Eminent Instructors: Fr. Tholuck, Julius Müller, Hermann Hupfeld, Joh. Eduard Erdmann

Arrived at Halle, he described in a letter the city and its University, giving the history of both. The University had been founded in 1692, opening with 765 students, of whom scarcely sixty were theological students. Through the influence of Francke, it had become the mother of Pietism; and through the influence of Semler, a source of Rationalism. With the arrival of F. A. G. Tholuck, in 1826, Rationalism began to recede. Nearly all of the seven hundred students now attending the University were studying theology. Of its sixty-two teachers, eleven were teaching theology.

In the meantime he registered. In the first semester he had courses in Exegesis of one of the Epistles, and of the Gospel of Matthew, of Mark, and of John. He had Church History daily. He also studied Logic and History of Philosophy. He was given free tuition for the first and second and, possibly, for the third semester. This was a saving of twenty-five dollars a semester. In the second semester he studied Ethics under Tholuck, the Psalms under Hermann Hupfeld, St. John under Julius Müller, and Philosophy of Religion under Johann Erdmann.

He gave lessons to some Germans; but as nine hours of work brought him only \$2.50, he soon ceased doing so. He obtained employment at the school for American boys conducted by Miss Catherine Merrill and her sister, both from Indianapolis. He took part in the Sunday afternoon "prayer meetings," really English services, which were held at the home of the Merrills and were attended by twenty or more persons.

There were especially three theological professors at this time in the University who exerted a beneficent influence upon Stuckenberg, both in the class room and in their homes, where he was a frequent guest.

First among these was Tholuck. His strength consisted in the love that attracted the individual, supported by un-



usual gifts of conversation and great stores of knowledge. His best subjects were ecclesiastical Exegesis. He worked considerably in the field of Church History, writing interestingly with love for the anecdotal. As a systematist he was not prominent. He was especially liked as a preacher, though he regarded it as the purpose of the sermon not to please man but to disturb his conscience. He filled the manifold cultural forms of the eighteenth century with Christian content and permeated science and life with the renovating forces of the evangelical Church.

Tholuck befriended many a student. He liked to walk and talk with them, linguist of nineteen languages, as he was, according to reports. He exerted a marked influence upon the theology of Finland, ever so many Finnish students coming to Halle to study under him; also upon the English speaking countries. Ample proof for the influence upon the English student world is found in the many biographies that make mention of him. It suffices to name three: *Henry B. Smith: His Life and Work*, New York, 1881; James Brown, *Life of William B. Robertson*, Glasgow, 1888; *Life and Letters of William Fleming Stevenson*, London, 1890. Stuckenberg became a favorite of his. He received dinner twice a week regularly at Tholuck's home, and was often invited to meet guests. He was given the freedom of Tholuck's library of ca. 15,000 volumes.

He now learned the difference between being a "pupil" and a "student" in the German meaning, between a college and a university in the proper sense, and what academic liberty implied. Frau Tholuck, the daughter of a baron, entered into the interests of her husband with the sympathetic insight of a highly gifted nature. She was a woman of delicate feeling, tactful and considerate. She even felt she sometimes had to apologize to Stuckenberg for the plainness of the food on the table. Companionship with such people was of inestimable worth to Stuckenberg, now a man of twenty-five. Tholuck offered to lend him money, wrote introductions for him to men in England and Scotland, and

became, humanly speaking, the sun of the young American's life. Stuckenberg often stated that no other man ever influenced him in the way Tholuck did. He stood out before him as the "greatest man" he knew, while he designated Tobias Beck, whom he was to meet at a second period of study in Germany, as his "greatest teacher."

Another of the professors whom Stuckenberg was proud to count as his own and as a truly great man, was Julius Müller, at whose feet he sat for three semesters, especially in Dogmatics. Müller had intended to graduate in Law. Personal experience with religion had turned him to Theology. He had especially been influenced in Breslau by theological lectures and sermons given by Johann G. Scheibel and by the lectures on natural philosophy delivered by Henrik Steffens, the Norwegian whom Professor Albert Hauck designated as one of the *geistreichste* of all men. Müller had soon perceived that philosophy could give no salvation and stability because it could not impart divine life. He came as professor from Berlin to Halle, but was regarded as a foreigner, a "dark and dangerous mystic." His next position was at the University of Marburg, where he laid the foundation of his fame as a professor and completed the first edition of his great work on *Die Lehre von der Sünde*, which brought him the sobriquet of *Sünden-Müller*, in this case a compliment. Here he also wrote a most searching review of *Das Leben Jesu* by David Strauss, and of *Wesen des Christentums* by Ludwig Feuerbach. Several universities now attempted to secure him on their Faculty. He chose Halle, where Tholuck was combatting Rationalism, and became his collaborer. His lectures in Dogmatics were very popular. His two devoted and cultured daughters were his principal society. Twice a widower, and afflicted as a result of a stroke, he did not mingle in society in later years. In a way, this was Stuckenberg's gain, who was much in his company.

Müller's conception of sin was that it is not rooted in sensuality, but in selfishness, in the individual's decision made outside of Time. His exhaustive examination of the

chief theories advanced concerning the nature of sin, and his discussion of the riddle of sin in its multiplex ramifications, is a model of masterly criticism. Like Tholuck, he belonged to the mediating school of theology, favoring the union of Protestant denominations. But he opposed the use of state compulsion in effecting the Union and disliked the idea of uniformity as to church usages and liturgical practices. Christian faith for him was faith in salvation; everything in faith had reference to the great antagonism of sin and redemption.

But a third personage from the Halle period, who helped fashion the theologian Stuckenberg, was Professor Hermann Hupfeld, in the chair of Old Testament, an excellent semitic philologist who wrought more through his many and varied pamphlets and contributions to periodicals than through larger works. He mapped out the roads of travel for Biblical Introduction, followed ever since. He laid the source-hypothesis in the critical study of Scripture. He dismissed the older hypotheses about rewrought and supplementary accounts, and advanced the claim that the Jahvistic portions of Genesis are an independent source, and that there are two Elohim sources. He defended the doctrine of salvation set forth in the Augsburg Confession, to the exclusive acceptance of the Bible. He, too, favored Union, but was a "Hessian" in questions pertaining to the Lord's Supper. His commentary on the Psalms in four volumes, was a standard work. He was later accused by the clergy because of his liberal position, but was exonerated by his Faculty colleagues, including Tholuck. Stuckenberg was often an invited guest also at the table of Hupfeld and his two daughters, who took lessons from him in English. These two young ladies, of rare consecration, were regular attendants at the religious meetings of the English and American Students at the Merrills. Sophia was engaged to an American student. Finding later that there was more romance than depth in her love, she felt obliged to cancel the engagement. She became a deaconess.

Her sister, Eliza, gave her services to a home of unmarried mothers. They followed Stuckenberg through life with keen interest, remembering him on his round of travels with letters and messages to such people as he ought to know. Hupfeld, too, had frequently Stuckenberg as a companion on his walks. In the spring of 1860 he showed him a very special favor. In another letter he expressed great rejoicing at the defeat of slavery.

The influence of these three men upon Stuckenberg cannot be overestimated. One recognizes ever so often in his theological writings that he had absorbed many of their ideas. Tholuck even went out of his way to get him a position as a teacher in Rome to succeed a son of Professor Karl Witte (as child known as the *Wunderknabe*). It was a matter of teaching two boys four hours a day, for board and room, and \$500 a year. However, Stuckenberg preferred Halle.

There was a fourth influence asserting itself at this time in the life of Stuckenberg. It was the person of Johann Eduard Erdmann, a philosopher of the right wing of the school of Hegel advocating the theory of identity, an excellent dialectician. He had been a clergyman before he became a philosopher. His *Darstellung der Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, in six volumes, was published in 1843-1853. It was considered important enough to appear in *Neudruck* in 1932-1933. His *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, published in two volumes in 1865 (new edition in 1930), appeared in English in 1890. Stuckenberg had him in Logic, Metaphysics, and History of Philosophy, but was most of all impressed by one of his sermons on the Ascension of Christ. He admired the grand childlike faith of this philosopher.

Tholuck presented Stuckenberg with several works: by Carl I. Nitzsch, Karl Ullmann, and Karl R. Hagenbach. The latter's work on the History of Rationalism, was later translated jointly by Stuckenberg and his friend, Wm. Leonhard Gage, with whom he had become acquainted in



Halle. Mr. Peterson, who had one of the largest book stores in Germany, became a good friend of Stuckenberg, who was a constant visitor at Peterson's in Halle.

§ 3. Baron von Polenz—Tour to Scotland—The Halle Orphanage—Translator

He found a very devoted friend in a layman who later, for many years, kept up an enthusiastic correspondence with him. It was Baron Karl G. F. von Polenz, who after retiring as Major from the French war studied Theology at Halle and was writing a history of French Calvinism, in five volumes, 1857—. The author had been reared a Lutheran and was attached to the views of Zinzendorf. His work became an apology for Calvinism, for which the theological Faculty in Breslau conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Theology. He was extremely fond of Stuckenberg.

Hagenbach's History fascinated Stuckenberg, who made excerpts of it in translation and went to Edinburgh to find a publisher. He was offered £30, but declined to sell his manuscript for that. On his visit to England and Scotland, Tholuck's letters introduced him to important personages. At one dinner he met Alexander Campbell Fraser who succeeded Sir William Hamilton to the chair of philosophy in Edinburgh. He had greetings from Tholuck for Rev. MacEwen, in Glasgow. He also called on several people whose acquaintance he had made at Halle.

He corresponded with papers in America, described not only the university life, but also the life in the lower schools. The Orphanage at Halle, with school rooms for 3300 children, especially impressed him. It was to him a remarkable display of faith in God. Over against the American contention that some have voices, and some have not, he presented the German view that everybody can sing. Miss Merrill, employing him as the overseer of outdoor sports, made him business manager of an excursion to Dresden.

The capital of Saxony introduced him to the art museum. In a letter in May, 1860, he relates about a visit in Leipzig, being invited to dinner by Tauchnitz, the publisher, where he met an Armenian solicitor of ecclesiastical funds, whose name, K. H. Simon Eutujian, became plain Rev. Simons in England.

His friends in America did not forget him, sending him letters and gifts. The rumors of the approaching War were discomfoting. He had to defend his North, which could not get the sympathy of even his Scotch friends.

Did he dream of the German Ph.D. degree? Harvard had not yet incorporated the plan followed by the German universities. It still was largely an undergraduate school; and few American schools as yet dreamed about graduate departments. On March 14, 1861, Stuckenberg wrote to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Erlangen as to the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Also his friend W. L. Gage, then in Portsmouth, wrote to the same University. Both received answers from Dr. C. Hegel. However, the outbreak of the Civil War in America, the depleted funds of Stuckenberg—although both Hupfeld and Tholuck offered to lend him money—ended the negotiation. The earned degree is never again mentioned in any letter of Stuckenberg. There was little need for it in America at that time.

On money lent him by his brother, Stuckenberg returned to Cincinnati, his life much enriched, intellectually, spiritually, and socially from his eighteen months sojourn abroad. His life in Halle, which had witnessed the great charitable efforts of the Franckean institutions, combining Christianity with practical education—became an incentive for his future work. He came back "cured" from his doubts. Especially Tholuck had been instrumental in dispelling them. Stuckenberg had found himself again. He was looking eagerly forward towards resuming ministerial work in America.

## § 4. Tholuck in Retrospect Twenty-Five Years Later—Doubt Vanquished

Almost twenty-five years later, while Stuckenberg was pastor of the American Church in Berlin, he paid tribute to Tholuck, for dispelling his doubts. At a Tholuck evening at the home of Mrs. Palmer Davies in Berlin, a woman of nobility, author, and famed for her generous work in that capital among the families of 1200 cabmen, Stuckenberg, among other preacher guests, was asked to relate some of his experiences with Tholuck. And he said: "Years ago I came as a young man to Europe, heavy with doubts which I felt that I must either labor through or else be compelled to give up the ministry. It was then that I found at the Halle University that faithful physician of the soul, Tholuck, and experienced how he, true 'student father,' could draw out the confidence of a young man and lay bare his soul to himself with astounding wisdom and insight. Marvellous as was Tholuck's learning and his genius for acquiring languages, he was still more wonderful in his personality and in his understanding of the inmost workings of the human heart. I had occupied myself much with mathematics and philosophy and had supposed that our God-knowledge must also submit itself to mathematical demonstration. But Tholuck enabled me to perceive my mistake in not recognizing that while there are things which can only be understood by reason, there are others that can only be comprehended by the heart. . . . On Christmas Eve he presented me with a book in which he had inscribed for me the significant word: 'In matters of science the light descends from the head to the heart; in matters of faith the light ascends from the heart to the head. Only so far as we live in God can we understand Him.'

" . . . at length when the time of my departure came and I called to bid him good-by, who had so faithfully wrought with me and prayed for me, he inquired, 'Can you now go back to America and preach Christ?' 'That's what I intend to. My doubts have been turned to faith.' Then he prayed

with me once more, and I took my leave. I have had other professors from whom I have learned more, but I owe most of all to Tholuck for that which makes my life worth living."

The company on that evening had been a small one, consisting of the courtpreachers Rudolph Kögel and Wilhelm Bauer, a son of Hegel, a daughter of Schleiermacher, a sister of Bismarck, and a few foreigners. As all the preachers present had been students at Halle, the hostess desired that each of these ministers relate something from his experiences with Tholuck. Each minister complied, and when the turn came to Stuckenberg, he responded in the words given above.



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## CHAPTER VIII

# Pastorate in Erie Prior to Enlistment in the Army

(1861-1862)

### § 1. Ministering to Three Congregations

WITHIN ONE MONTH after his return from Europe, Stuckenberg received a letter from Rev. William A. Passavant, President of the Pittsburgh Synod, then a branch of the "General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States." The letter was a reply to one from Stuckenberg inquiring about possible pastoral work for him. The letter welcomed him back again and instructed him to write to Henry Gingrich, in Erie, then a city of about 10,000 people. It also complimented him on an article appearing in the *Independent*; Passavant had thought, as he said, it was by a New Englander, and had been so pleased with it that he had copied it.

Stuckenberg, accordingly, wrote to Gingrich, who replied that the group to which he belonged was interested in getting a pastor. This group comprised a body of Pennsylvania Germans who till recently had been connected with a Union Church. The group would organize as a church. There would be two other churches which would unite with them in calling a pastor: a congregation at St. Peters, seven miles from the city, and one at Fairview, ten miles distant. The salary would be about one hundred dollars from each of the country churches and one hundred fifty from the group at Erie. Would not Stuckenberg pay them a visit?

Shortly afterward, Rev. D. Garver, Missionary President of the Pittsburg Synod, visited Erie, and communicated to

Stuckenberg that a salary of five hundred dollars could be promised, the Synod contributing one hundred of this. "The importance of the field can hardly be exaggerated." Also the travelling missionary for the Pittsburgh Synod wrote to Stuckenberg. He had visited several fine families which would be the nucleus for a church. There might be some disheartened people at St. Peters; but preaching German to them, with the prospect of becoming their pastor, would encourage them to do their part; this congregation was the oldest and largest, but the least hopeful part of the field. The travelling missionary explained that there were very many Germans in Erie, but they had gone into "the rationalistic church." The whole congregation, formerly Lutheran, is now in the hands of 'those miserable German rationalists.' "

Stuckenberg paid a visit to Erie and consented to become pastor for the three congregations; the group at Erie, consisting of some sixty people, organized itself as a church a few weeks later. He wrote to his brother that he hoped that within a year or two the charge could be divided, when he would give all his attention to the congregation in Erie, which intended to erect a church building.

The new congregation was formally organized, August 30, 1861, under the name of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church. The first Elders were S. Brown and H. Gingrich; the first deacons, John L. Brown and Henry Werthe. Suggestions came from the outside that the new church adopt as constitution the one recommended by the Pittsburgh Synod: the great St. John's church in Erie, it was argued, would not have been lost to the Lutherans, if it had had a constitution of this kind in 1855 to 1859, when this church, without synodical affiliation, fell a prey to an adventurous pastor, and as a consequence, suffered humiliation. There was talk about "vagabond preachers" in Erie. The warning was not without justification. Among the German immigrants were not a few adventurers, who made up for what they lacked in theology by oratory and had no scruples in seeking a German pulpit as a means of livelihood. Rev.

H. Reck advised that as a basis of confessional subscription the church adopt "the Word of God as their only infallible rule in faith and practice." It should also adopt as the bond of their union and basis of their creed the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Smaller Catechism. "But do not say anything about altered and unaltered, old and new Lutherans. These terms that have done so much mischief are very liable to be misunderstood."

The new church was to have English as its language in public worship. The founders of this church were men whose farms either adjoined the city or were within a radius of a few miles from its boundaries. They were Henry Gingrich, Samuel Brown, Tobias Fickinger. The charter members were largely related, at least by marriage, to the founders. To Henry Gingrich were related members of the Wolf, the Geisler, the Tuck families. Related to Samuel Brown, who had many sons and daughters, were the Stoughts. The Garvers were related to Fickinger and his son-in-law, a son of Samuel Brown. Others were the Kuchlers, the Melhorns, the Busecks, all of Pennsylvania German lineage. Mr. Jarecki, who became a wealthy manufacturer, was a native of German Poland.

As the church developed, the increase in membership was derived from the city people, of English and of German extraction. One of the efficient men in promoting the interests of the church was Azro Goff, editor of a newspaper and superintendent of the Sunday school. His wife, prominent for her literary ability and progressive in all reforms, was an outstanding church worker. Miss Caroline Zimmerman, who composed music skilfully, served the church as organist. Miss Anna Munson excelled as a teacher.

Stuckenberg soon came to be favorably known also outside of his own churches. Only a few days on the ground, he, with his members, united with the Methodists on Fast day for service, the Methodist minister preaching the sermon. On the same day the Presbyterians requested him to preach for them, which he did. This recognition gratified some of the members, who were used to hear the man of

the street—too often also the man of the parlor—call the Lutheran denomination “foreign” and all other denominations “American.”

The new pastor soon became popular with the other pastors, also with the lawyers and editors of the city, and with their families. He associated much with William M. Blackburn, pastor of the local Presbyterian church (1856-1864), later professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago, author of many books and of reviews in the “Princeton and American Presbyterian Review.” He also associated with John F. Spalding, rector of the local Episcopal church (1862-1873) and, later, bishop in Colorado. He organized a class in German in one of the schools of the city, and would lecture at the Wayne Hall on political matters.

Pending the securing of a permanent home, the Erie congregation held its meetings in the upstairs hall of the township building on Federal Hill. Here also the Sunday school assembled the children of the immediate vicinity. Only morning services could be held in Erie on two successive Sundays, since in the afternoon the pastor would ride on horseback from sixteen to twenty-four miles to serve one or the other of his country charges. On each third Sunday Stuckenberg had no service in Erie because that Sunday was altogether devoted to the country churches at McKeab Corners and at Fairview. Catechetical classes were organized for training the teachers of the Sunday school.

To meet the needs of the Erie church, Stuckenberg organized a social gathering, attended by entire families. His aim was to promote “Christian fellowship.” There was a turn-out every month on Saturday afternoons to commodious homes. Some twelve families would respond generously to the pastor’s appeal by providing city houses for the winter meetings, and farmer’s homes for the months of fair weather. The mistress of each home helped to provide ample supper for the church gathering. The farmers furnished vehicles for the city folk. The old, the middle-aged, the young people, and the children—all availed themselves



of the welcome at these hospitable Pennsylvania homes of a by-gone period. There was no formulated program to be followed in those stirring days of the Civil War. The men naturally gathered in groups outdoors in agreeable weather; the women in the parlor; the young people would assemble about a musical instrument in winter, or ramble over the farms in summer. The little children were at ease with one another or close to their mother. At about one in the afternoon, farm wagons would appear in the city to gather up those who desired to attend. Before dusk they were again on the home way because of the chores. But prior to this, shortly before supper, the Ladies' Society, under whose auspices these gatherings were held, would hold a short business session. At this time the society was collecting funds for the building of a church structure. A brief reading of Scripture and prayer would precede the supper. Many strangers were invited to these socials, which Stuckenberg viewed as effective means of cementing the congregation in Christian fellowship.

For the pastor, these meetings were opportunities for animating and educating his people. A marked characteristic of his Erie ministry was his power of moving people, young and old, in the direction of his own ideals. This was manifest in the group of boys and girls whom he steered toward a higher education than that which Erie afforded. Among twelve or fourteen that he thus started, there were at least two who were destined for the ministry, one of whom died in the War, at Harper's Ferry. Stuckenberg's relations with children were particularly close. They usually made overtures to him. The liveliness of his motions and a lithe unconscious grace that animated his being, attracted them. The people in the city got well used to seeing the tall, manly, attractive figure in the streets, moving along swiftly, completely wrapped up in his own thoughts, yet wholly alive and responsive to his surroundings, communicative, but also an appreciative listener.

The civic life in the city interested him deeply. The Young Men's Christian Association was in the early stage

of its existence. He rallied the enthusiasm of his church members in the establishment of its library and in supporting the courses of lectures given there. No one felt the stir of patriotism with more impelling force in those eventful days than he. Slavery was in his eyes a sin and a curse. He considered it a duty to strike against it. He could not stand copperheadism. He fanned the flame of loyalty.

He was often called upon for public speeches. A letter to him from the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society requested him to deliver, under its auspices, a lecture in Wayne Hall. The members were helping the soldiers, and needed funds. "We are fully persuaded that in addition to the acknowledged praiseworthiness of the cause, your talents and popularity as a speaker would serve to attract a full house on the occasion and secure us a handsome benefit." This letter, written November 21, 1861, by Mrs. Garam, President, bore her signature as well as the signatures of Mesdames E. A. Christie, M. S. Skinner, W. A. Brown, Miss L. G. Sanford, Secretary; and Mrs. S. D. Clark, Treasurer. Another request to lecture, a month later, came from Fairview Literary Society. He complied with both requests.

In the winter, when it became impossible to serve his farthest country congregation regularly afternoons, he was urged to carry his Erie services to Wayne Hall, where the general public might profit by them. By request he delivered under these auspices a series of discourses on the "Spirit and Method of the Minor Prophets" and "The Jews in the Time of Jesus Christ," in the largest hall in Erie.

As a marginal accompaniment to his professional work, can be noted the plan to purchase a "melodeon of four octaves" for the Erie church, at the low price of thirty dollars, "it having been used only a few months."

Invitations arrived to Stuckenberg from Rev. W. B. Bachtell, of Venangobow, and from Isaac Brenneman, of New Lebanon, to preach in their charges and "for several of the brethren," on his way to and from meetings of the Synod. He corresponded with Professor M. E. Stoever, Gettysburg, editor of the *Evangelical Review*, regarding

some articles for the *Review* and some to be published in book form. Some of this material was translated. One of these articles, *Fichte and Herder*, appeared in the *Review* in 1861, showed clearly the philosophical and sociological trends of the author. Stoevers advised that he write to Dr. Charles Krauth in Philadelphia for help in getting his sketches published. "Dr. Krauth speaks so kindly of your translation."

Kindliness was also quite tangibly expressed in Erie on New Year's Day and on his birthday in 1862, when presents were given to him. He noted them: "Eight books worth ten dollars, a very pretty gown, shirt and collar, very fine pair of slippers . . . socks, gloves, etc., in all worth about twenty-five dollars."

Letters continued coming to him from pastors. Rev. C. L. Ehrenfeld, at Altoona, Pennsylvania, inquired whether there were any "rationalists" among the Germans served by Stuckenberg. He wished he could be nearer to him for some profitable inter-discussion of some theological topics. "I don't find any Gettysburg men who take any interest in theological questions as they touch speculation. The metaphysicians are unknown gods to them." Rev. A. R. Height, at Fryburg, whom Dr. Passavant had asked to withdraw from the Pittsburgh Synod, had built a new church and asked Stuckenberg to aid in dedicating it. He wanted "to secure the very best German aid at the consecration," as the city was full of "German Lutherans and Papists." He would rely on Stuckenberg as an "Aaron, because you are not only a man of good sense and extensive knowledge, but also a ready and convincing speaker." Whatever Dr. Passavant's censure of Height was, Rev. Bachtell and Rev. Garver favored Rev. Height. W. B. Bachtell's critical ability can be questioned. He was called "peace-and-love" Bachtell. His letters display a variety of *pia desideria*: "May the peace and love of the 'rose of Sharon' and the 'lily of the Valley' be with you, and the angels of the Lord of Hosts keep you in safety. 'Et nunc vale.'" Passavant, too, was apt in well-wishing, but was more canonical.



It has been stated that Stuckenberg had wrestled with doubt. The following letter of July 8, 1862, from Tholuck, who was such a help to him in this matter, expresses joy in the fact that Doubt no longer troubled his former student. It reads: "My dear Friend, How very glad I am of all the evidence that the Lord in your case has been fulfilling the motto I have been applying to you—God provides for those who are sincere of heart! Remember that I foretold you that the work of the ministry would dispel much of the darkness with which your studies have been beclouding your inner vision; and I unite with you in praise to our God of mercy for fulfilling this prophecy of mine regarding yourself. So now you have a fold that you can call your own. And of this I am confident that the oftener it may be granted to you to bring the dead unto life by means of the Word of Life you preach, the more your heart will become assured that it is the Word of Life derived from God . . ."

## § 2. The Call of the Army

Though darkness was removed from his inner vision, religiously, his country was in the throes of civil war, spreading doubt and darkness in thousands of homes. To thinking men there was no peace, even if they were far from the arena of conflict. The news from the seat of War was increasingly revealing the enormity of the task before the North. The call of President Lincoln, on July 1, 1862, for 300,000 more volunteers for the army, conveyed the seriousness of the situation to the whole country. This war was more than a sectional dispute or disturbance. The clergy was to have an important part in this conflict, as it has had in all subsequent wars among "Christian nations," paralleling the role of the press in advocating or opposing it, with the added weight of real or alleged moral directive. The War was regarded in sections of the North as an ethical issue, having as its objective the wiping out of slavery and keeping the Union together. To oppose this social-economic-political issue was regarded by the majority of the Church people as sinful. The minister was supposed to have a



deeper insight than the layman as to what was or was not sin. As he preached against all actions regarded as sin; so, in war, he would call for martial action against social evil.

A large, clerical, controversial literature followed. The supposition that the followers of Zwingli and Calvin would stand united against slavery; and that the Lutherans, comparatively few as they yet were in our country, would condone it or take no active part against it in the pulpit, was not carried out. The Lutherans in Holland had remained loyal to the Catholic government in the wars of liberation carried on by the Reformed. They did not believe in revolt. In the United States the revolt came from the South. However, denominational classifications counted for nothing. Every denominational camp showed divided opinion, though opinion was largely determined by geography. The Lutherans were mainly on the side of the North, the vast majority of their pulpits preaching against slavery. The large number of anti-slavery sermons by Lutheran ministers which found their way to Hartwick Seminary, Hartwick, N. Y., "the largest pamphlet collection in the state of New York" and lately transferred to the State Library in Albany, is strongly indicative of this. However, many Lutheran pastors trained in the school of K. F. W. Walther, in St. Louis, Missouri, defended slavery as not contrary to Scriptures.

From the first, Stuckenberg felt that the cause of the North was a moral issue. When he, later, as an army chaplain was asked by a woman in the South whether slavery was sinful, he answered her in a strong affirmative. When, on occasions, he was confronted with the claim that the slaves were satisfied in their condition, he claimed that slavery was all the more debasing, since it made man feel that way about it. He was very anxious to enlist his services on the side of the North, and pleaded its cause as worthy of every man's support. He regarded it as his duty to be an example to the people of Erie by joining the army as a chaplain, which would enable him to perform the task for which he was most qualified.

This idea was matured by the martial events taking place in the summer of 1862, when the hopes, that the war would soon close, due to the capture of Island Number 10 and of New Orleans, were dispelled by the disasters before Richmond, the retreat and defeat of Pope's army, and the threats of General Lee to invade Maryland and Kentucky, menacing Louisville and Cincinnati. To many of those called by Lincoln, the question of enlisting was the question of defending their own homes and firesides. With many it was also more: a serious problem of duty, the call of God. Both the North and the South gathered all the forces available in order to win the war: religion, politics, and economics; bias, bullets, and sentiment. The artillery of the press was mighty on both sides. The United States could not solve the question of slavery peaceably, as Denmark and England had done. Secession had made war inevitable.

Stuckenberg's home city, Cincinnati, was threatened. It was the home of his relatives, and he always regarded it as his home, no matter where he resided. Soldiers were enlisting for three years, not a few of them hoping that their example would sufficiently increase the army to crush the rebellion before the end of the three years.

On August 18, 1862, Stuckenberg informed his brother in Cincinnati that he had three week's vacation. He was about to visit Indiana and would soon visit Cincinnati. The drafting for the army was impending, he wrote, but his brother might escape it. If drafted, he could get a substitute. As for himself, there was no danger of being drafted, since—as he supposed—ministers were exempt. But he was much inclined to volunteer; and should he be drafted, he would not shrink from doing his duty. Some men of his own churches had enlisted.

One week later, he again, while traveling, wrote to his brother: "There is much excitement here about drafting. By state law none are exempt, not even ministers." He stated that he did not know the law of Pennsylvania on the subject of ministers. There also they might be liable to be

drafted. "Should this be the case, I want the benefit of the possibility of being drafted. So you will confer quite a favor on me, if, in case we are not exempt, you have my name enrolled among the militia. I despise the mean attempts made to shirk duties to our country at present; and if I am drafted, my course of duty will be plain."

Because of the grip of his influence, both ministers and laymen had given him signal prominence in the country during the weeks of recruiting. Gravely, and with intense feeling, he witnessed the young men enlist in response to his appeal. But he had come to feel that enjoining others to enter upon the dangers and hardships of military service without following them to camp and the field, could leave him no peace. When he acquainted his congregation with his plan to enlist as chaplain, it besought him to regard the congregation as paramount. But he could not so read the signs of the times. Erie had been responding generously to the call for troops, and had furnished large contingents to the 83d and the 111th Pennsylvania Volunteers. In response to Lincoln's call for 300,000, northwestern Pennsylvania, in the counties of Erie, Warren, Crawford, Mercer—though sparsely populated—rallied a regiment, for the third time, this time the 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers. This response drained again the working force of the surrounding country, mostly young men of steady habits and robust constitution, though not all could go who felt it was their duty to go—a father of helpless children; an only son; others, besought to stay home by pleading parents, weeping wives and crying children.

On September 10, 1862, Stuckenberg, just back from his vacation and from the atmosphere of Cincinnati, applied for the chaplaincy; and was appointed the next day, helped by a statement signed by David Hassler, Daniel B. Garver, Godfrey Fidler. It declared that they were members of his church, and that he was a person of good, moral character, exemplary conduct, and untarnished reputation. He was further helped by a recommendation signed by four Lutheran ministers in Baltimore: Joel Schwartz, T. Steck, John McCron, G. H. Brandau; and by J. Newton Kurtz,



publisher of the "Lutheran Observer." On the following Sunday he preached to his three congregations, promising to return to Erie in case his life was spared. "It was hard to part from my people and numerous friends," he wrote.

His appointment came on the day of his regiment, the 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers', sudden call to the front. The entire regiment left Erie on that day, except Company K, which left the next day, Stuckenberg with it. His journal presents a graphic description of the regiment's leave.

"In the afternoon of that day, the regiment, except Co. K, which was not yet mustered into service, started for the seat of war. From all directions the people were flocking to the camp and to the depot to bid friends farewell. It was a day of deep feeling and anxious thought to thousands. I can still see the great concourse at the depot—all deeply affected. Some provided their soldier friends with comforts for the march and the camp; others handed them tokens of love. Some spoke tenderly and feelingly; others stood in tearful silence more eloquent than words, whilst in many groups around the cars were heard mothers and wives and children whose hearts seemed almost breaking at the parting. One who left that day said: 'Feelings were excited that can never be described. Every moment and every look, every word and every smile, every person and every object seemed to be different from what they were at any other time. I was fully conscious of the great step I had taken, of the dear home I was about to leave, and of the fact that I was about to part with those most near and dear to me on earth. It was so uncertain, too, whether we should ever be permitted to see them again; and if so, perhaps not for three long, hard years.' Amid a thousand adieus, the shaking of hands, the waving of handkerchiefs and many tears, the cars moved off. On the platform of the last car stood the Colonel waving friends and citizens a farewell with the stars and stripes, whilst many strained their eyes to catch the last glimpse of their loved ones who then covered their faces with their hands and turned away. The last words I heard from the cars were those of a young man to his friends, 'Pray for me.'"



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## CHAPTER IX

# Army Experiences and Furloughs

(1862-1863)

§ 1. On the March—At Camp—The Dead at Antietam—Battle of Fredericksburg

ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1862, Stuckenberg left Erie for the field of war, along with Company K, commanded by Captain John Walker. His letters and carefully kept War Diary covering his entire period of service in the army, constitute a rich source of information about himself, his fellow soldiers, movements of the army, happenings on the march, in camp, and on the battlefield. Its uniqueness and fulness can have but few parallels penned by a chaplain, who, assuming no airs of the military expert, simply describes human beings collectively acting with and against human beings, such as is only possible in a civil war, the worst of all wars.

On September 18, the Company arrived at Chambersburg, Pa., where they were shown marked hospitality. Some soldiers refused to enter Maryland, on the ground that they came to defend the state and would not leave it, "forgetting that perhaps they could best defend their state in Maryland."

Before leaving Chambersburg, Stuckenberg preached a short sermon to Company K in an open lot. It was his first attempt at addressing soldiers. He confesses he spoke with considerable anxiety. All went very well, until he had finished his sermon, when, just as he said, "Let us pray," an Irishman jumped up and, waving his cap, said at the top of his voice, "Boys, three cheers for the parson." Pat never heard the last of the proposed cheers, but a few

weeks later he came to the chaplain, and told him with tears in his eyes that he had been reading the New Testament given to him, and that "its truths had affected him deeply," and that "he would try to be an Evangelical Christian."

Later in the day, the Company arrived at Hagerstown, Maryland. On the next day, Stuckenberg visited the battle field of Antietam Creek at Sharpsburg, where the armies of McClellan and Lee fought each other two days before, in the bloodiest single day's battle of the war. This battle stopped Lee's invasion to Maryland, but McClellan failed to pursue him.

According to the Diary, "The battle field extends about four or five miles in one direction and from one to two in another. It is not level, but consists of a number of small hills with slight depressions between them. On it were ploughed fields, stubble fields, corn fields and woods, and towards the Potomac is the village of Sharpsburg. The losses of this battle are supposed to be from 8000 to 10,000 wounded and killed on our side and more on that of the rebels. . . . I walked over a great part of the field. It was the first time in my life that I saw a battlefield within a few days after the battle was fought. In many places the ground was torn up by shells and cannon balls. The ground was covered with cartridges, muskets, cannon and rifle balls, shells exploded and unexploded, grape, swords, bayonets, musket knapsacks, etc. A number of houses in Sharpsburg and others on the battlefield were riddled. . . . But the worst sight was the dead still lying on the field in great numbers. I shall never forget the sickening sight. Along the fence about the length of twenty rails, I counted sixty dead bodies. . . . They were lying so close to each other that their hands could have touched almost along the whole line—in fact it seemed that they fell just as they stood in the line of battle. Nearly all were lying on their backs, their faces turned up to the sun. They looked bloated and were greatly swollen. . . . Wounds were seen on all parts of the body. The bodies looked more frightful because they

had been exposed to the hot sun for some two days when I saw them. . . . On the road near Sharpsburg I saw a rebel wounded in the back part of the head, still breathing. Having been exposed to the hot sun for two days, his face was bloated and his eyes closed with putrid matter. His mouth was open and his lips were parched. I poured a little water into his mouth which seemed to roll down his throat involuntarily, with a rattling, gurgling noise. He breathed very slightly and moved his hands very little. This was the most affecting I saw. The next day I found that he had been removed. . . . One of our regiment, looking over the field, said that the dead at a distance looked like an acre covered with cordwood. . . . Some did not at all look human, but like horrid monsters. . . . In the edge of the woods by the side of a long trench at which several soldiers were still digging, sat another soldier, a young man, busily engaged in marking with a lead pencil some boards from cracker boxes, which were to serve as headboards for some of his comrades to be buried there. He paused not, raised not his eyes, smiled not: he was only intent in doing for beloved comrades what comrades might one day be called to do for him."

At Sharpsburg, Stuckenberg saw not only dead heroes. He beheld a man of eminent rank. General McClellan was sitting at his headquarters, at an open window, the hero of the day. "He looked very much worn and fatigued . . . received citizens kindly and discoursed with them. . . . I could but admire the man. But Lee had escaped."

On Sunday morning, the 145th Pennsylvania was detailed to bury the dead. The dead were carried together on rails and buried in trenches. Union soldiers and rebels, officers and privates were buried in the same grave without even the thin board with its "Union" or "Rebel" or "Unknown" to mark their resting place. The hurry was due to the far advanced decomposition of the bodies.

September 21 was Stuckenberg's first Sunday in camp. He had services and spoke on the theme "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." The audience was uniformed

in blue, the auditorium was the open air with the stars as lamps. There was speaking and singing, all so different from what the soldiers were used to at home.

Retiring that night, he slept in the open, sharing his hard bed with a lieutenant, and using an umbrella to protect their faces against dew. He had taken the umbrella along on the march, as well as a big trunk, which he was glad to leave at Harper's Ferry. An umbrella and a soldier! Officers teased him about it. It was lost, but reappeared. He tried to dispose of it in the baggage, but it turned up again. He lost a part of his baggage at Fredericksburg, but the umbrella was saved!

The regiment was soon ordered to report at Harper's Ferry. As yet, it had neither fife nor drum, but the soldiers sang "John Brown's Body . . ." or "Hang Jeff Davis . . ." They passed the home of John Brown in a desolate region and were placed in the Irish Brigade of General Meagher, a boisterous, lung-exercising outfit, an eloquent contrast to the 145th, which had but few sons of Erin. The placement was only of temporary nature.

Stuckenberg's War Journal tells about the daily camp life, his improvised stove, primitive furniture, the rations including hard tack, salt pork, beans, rice, coffee, or Shennandoah water, occasionally molasses, fresh beef, and potatoes. It relates about conversations around the fire, with the home as the central theme. It discusses laundry work, sickness—the most dreaded being the camp fever—hospitalization, the reaction of the sick and wounded to medical care, the trying labor of physicians and nurses. It narrates about martial wit and humor, martyrlike submission and explosive outbursts of impatience, of desertion, court-martials, furloughs, lodging with private people, a northern or a southern sympathizer as the case might be. It refers to transactions in buying food at high prices and listening to the lashing tongue of ladies from the South to the northern "invaders", especially in Virginia, where so many houses were left desolate and where soldiers of the North helped themselves to provisions. It also records the opinions



of soldiers concerning leading officers like Meagher, McClellan, Meade, and others.

He relates the following about the second removal of McClellan. On his way back to the regiment, November 10, from Warrenton, where he had spent a day, he found that the troops had all left their camps and were drawn up along the road. On inquiring what it meant, he learned that McClellan had been removed by the Administration in Washington and that he was going to hold a farewell review of the army. "When he passed through the troops drawn up on both sides of the road, followed by his successor, General Burnside, and a large cavalcade of officers and orderlies, he was received with the wildest enthusiasm, with loud cheering and the booming of cannon, the presentation of arms and the waving of hats. It was a sublime spectacle, and the effect was thrilling: a world-renowned general, followed by his corps, division and brigade generals, received so enthusiastically by a devoted army which he had in a great measure formed and with which his name would go down in history. But as he passed, I thought I noticed sadness in his countenance, a gloom spread over his features. To him and to the troops it was a sad farewell."

Groups of officers and soldiers were everywhere discussing his removal. Many felt that a great injustice was being done. Others rejoiced at his removal. Stuckenberg felt that, in spite of removals, the noble army, fighting not for man "but for the best country on earth and the noblest principles given by God to man," would eventually win against the South.

He gives an interesting description of Warrenton, where he talked with southern prisoners, who claimed their politicians were responsible for the war, which they had expected would not last long. He reports that the one week he spent there seemed long. There were no books to read.

On November 15, the army left the place for Falmouth. It was a hard march of two days, through fields and forests. There was much stumbling and falling and much suffering from cold.

Soldiers would occasionally come to homes, whose sympathy for the North or the South would change according to the demands of expediency. Stuckenberg met pronounced opposition in one home. Being on an errand for the regiment, he found on his return that it had left. He then asked a secessionist whether he could stay at his house over night, as his blankets were with the regiment. This was granted and he was kindly treated till at supper, which was late because the Union troops had been very disturbing all afternoon. One of the ladies asked him his views on slavery. He stated his opinion, "when her eyes flashed fire and the form of Venus suddenly assumed the aspect of Mars. She asked me whether I took the Bible for my guide?" He let her do all the talking, whilst he did the eating. Next morning, Sunday, he thought no services could be held in the regiment, which was on the march. He therefore asked whether the family had any objection to holding morning worship. "No, no objection," said the lady with the utmost indifference. "During worship half a dozen children enjoyed themselves by upsetting with impunity chairs and tables in the room. . . . Of course women can be as impudent and insolent as they please. . . . Her sister was 'Union', her husband, a preacher, being in the northern army."

In the regiment, Stuckenberg held services on Sundays when weather or marching did not interfere; and he gave much help to individuals, advising and consoling them, writing letters or praying for them, aiding the sick, and distributing literature.

He organized a regimental church, October 5, 1862, at Harper's Ferry. It was Protestant interdenominational, adopting the Bible as a guide. The documentary evidence drawn up by Stuckenberg is presented in this book, the fifty-two charter members affixing their names, giving at the same time their denomination, home address, and adding "ma" to signify whether married. These formed the nucleus of the church. He preached to hundreds, however.

There were some soldiers who despised chaplains, and claimed that all that a chaplain amounted to was a \$116 drain a month on the government. Some chaplains were intolerant. One in the . . . th Pennsylvania even deserted. Another, a Catholic father, objected to an Irish soldier attending a Protestant service.

Stuckenberg sometimes faced unexpected situations. He immersed one in baptism, who could not regard sprinkling or pouring as "Apostolic". He did not know, he states, how his ministerial brethren would view this; but he acted conscientiously on the subject, doing his duty.

The death bed scenes were trying. Young Henry Fidler, age seventeen, had joined the army at a time when Stuckenberg was furthering enlistments. He had made no individual appeals, addressing all in general. Fidler was the first one to die in the Regiment, a lovable boy. It touched Stuckenberg deeply. The boy's body was buried in the graveyard of Bolivak Heights. His coffin was of rough boards, carried by six members of his Company. "He was preceded by a fifer playing a funeral tune, by the Lieutenant-Colonel and myself, and four soldiers carrying their muskets reversed; and was followed by officers and men of the Company to which he had belonged, and by others. I read some passages of Scripture at the grave, made some remarks and offered prayer. The coffin was then let down in the grave, a volley of four muskets fired over his grave, the benediction pronounced, and the grave filled—the head and foot thereof being marked with boards." Stuckenberg then wrote to the boy's father, giving an account of his son's sickness, death, and burial.

He was even more touched by the death of another, a member of his Erie church, Joh. B. Fickinger, aged twenty-two, who wanted to study for the ministry, and whom therefore, considering his age, Stuckenberg tried to discourage from entering the army. Fickinger was also a member of the regimental church. Pastor and member were very intimate. Stuckenberg concludes the account of the young man's death: "Farewell, dear Brother, thou hast

gone before me to our Father's home. To have still held communion with thee would have been a source of joy. But I will try and be resigned. Farewell—but we'll meet again. . . . Tears trickle down the cheek when memory wanders back to what thou wast and what I expected of thee. . . . We shall meet again at God's right hand."

The Journal speaks of many a deathbed to which he was a witness. This chaplain had a pastoral heart, he was no mere master of ceremonies or an institutional representative. He in no way considered righteousness as meritorious, but he expected civic righteousness from every man. He even penned a letter to General Hancock, importuning him to leave off his cursing. The letter never reached headquarters. The Erie captains signed a petition and handed it to Dr. P., requesting him to resign on account of his profanity. But P. staid on.

Events soon were to take place which required the readiness and service of every physically fit member of the regiment. Winter quarters were being prepared near Falmouth, Virginia. In the beginning of December, timber was being cut and log cabins built.

On December 11, in the morning, the booming of cannon was heard in the direction of Fredericksburg. Heavy cannonading kept up all day. The Union guns lined the bank of the river opposite Fredericksburg for miles; Union soldiers were attempting to lay pontoon bridges across the river, but were being picked off by the enemy's sharpshooters, who had taken refuge in the houses of the city. These houses were, accordingly, subjected to cannonade.

"Flash succeeded flash, leaping like lightning from the cannon's mouth, a solid mass of flames: report followed report in quick succession—a number of times seeming to be simultaneous—a heavy crashing thunder rolling over the valley and up the hills by which it was flung back in deep reverberations. Columns of smoke were seen rising for miles of batteries and forming thick clouds overhead or creeping slowly along the ground and river or hanging over the city like a fog. In two or three different parts of the



# Members of His Regimental Church 1862

Harper's Ferry, Md. Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> 1862  
Camp of the 14<sup>th</sup> Regt Pa. vol.

We the undersigned, members of various Christian Denominations desiring to promote each others growth in Grace and Spiritual welfare generally, do hereby form ourselves into a regimental Church adopting the Bible as our only rule of Faith and Practice, and promising, in whatever circumstances we may be, to be faithful to our Christian Profession.

Names	Denominations	Residence.
J. H. W. Lichtenberg	Lutheran	Erie, Pa. - Chaplain.
John Drenthell	M. Church	Conneaut Erie Co Pa
Marion Gilson	Ep. Church	Steam Mills Warren Co Pa
Levi M. Kinty	M. E. Church	Westside Warren Co. Pa.
Eugene J. Richardson	M. P. Church	(Pa) Fillmore, Fillmore Co. Minn.
Charles W. Gore	M. E. Church	(Pa) Tionesta, Venango Pa.
Lewis Bamber	Wesleyan Meth.	(Pa) Tionesta Warren County Pa.
A. C. Williams	Wesleyan Meth.	(Pa) Tionesta Warren Co Pa
Jacques M. Butcher	Ep. Methodist	(Pa) New Hamburg, Monroe Co
Wm. Coorin	Presb.	N. S. (Pa) North East - Capt.
David Whittle	Lutheran	(Pa) Erie, Pa.
W. H. Oliver	Pres. M. S.	Spring Bradford Pa. Capt
Solomon A. McIlroy	Baptist	(Pa) Westfield, Erie Co. Pa.
Asa Reynolds	Episcopal Church	Erie Captain
W. W. Wood	M. Presbyterian	Ma West Greenville Captain
Simon Bond	M. Presbyterian	Co D Springfield & Reads Erie Co. Pa.
Calvin Hall	M. E. Church	Co B Mooreheadville Erie Co. Pa.
Andrew F. Smith	Erie Baptist Church	Arcadia Waine Co NY
J. P. Tinkler	Lutheran	Co D Erie Penna.
J. H. Cochrain	M. E. Church	(Pa) Westfield, Erie Co. Pa.
Andrew J. Long	United presbyterian	Shickley, Allegheny Co. Pa.
W. H. Johnson	Congregation	Co D Westfield, Erie Co. Pa.
Charles Cole	Church of England	London England Co. E. Pa.
W. A. Long	M. E. Church	Co D
W. A. Long	M. E. Church	Co D Westfield, Erie Co. Pa.
J. A. McSherrin	M. E. Church	Co B West Greenville Monroe Co.
P. B. Wainock	M. E. Church	(Pa) Co B West Greenville Monroe Co.
J. P. Smith	Evangelical Association	Co D Conneautville Trumbull Co. Ohio

Wm. H. H. H.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Post Office</u>	<u>Company</u>
Elijah Foster	Freewill Baptist	Waterford, Erie Co.	Ma.
Calvin <sup>Mason</sup> <del>Wright</del>	M. E. Church	Long Erie Co	Norm. D.
Chas. Ed. Hoyt	M. E. Church	Union Mills, Erie Co.	E.
John S. Osborn	M. E. Church	Summit	Geo. L. S. Co. B
Wm. M. Brown	Lutheran	Erie Pa.	P
D. B. McQuay	O. S. Presb. Church (Presb. church)	Erie Pa	St. Cal. Ma
J. H. Brook	M. E. Church	Erie Pa	O.
Wentworth H. Mifflin	Baptist	Sheakleyville, Erie Co.	y
John H. Clingan	United Presbyterians	Hartsville, Mercer Co	Ma
Thomas C. Clingan	U. S. Presbyterians	Hartsville, Mercer Co	G
David Davis	Baptist	West Greenville, Mercer Co	G
Andrew E. Slater	Methodist E.	Hartsville, Mercer Co	G
George W. Cook	Methodist E.	Smith's Mills, Mercer Co	G
J. L. McCreary	Presb. Methodist E.	Clarksville, Mercer Co	G
G. R. McQuay	M. E.	Erie Pa	D
S. G. Ware	M. E.	West Springfield, Erie Co.	D
James W. Southward	Baptist, Freewill	North East, Erie Co.	G. Ma.
James H. Boque	M. E. Church	Wattsburg, Erie Co.	C. Ma.
Samuel D. Dean	M. E. Church	West Springfield, Erie Co.	Co. K Ma
J. W. Hilly	M. E. Church	Wayne, Erie Co. Pa.	A. Ma
D. Haysberger	M. E. Church	Erie Pa	D
D. B. Farver	Lutheran	Erie Pa	P
D. L. King	M. E. Church	Union Mills, Erie Co.	E.
Capt. Chas. W. Lynch	Episcopal	Erie City, Penn.	D
Lieut. J. M. Vincent	United Presby.	West Greenville Pa	G. Ma
D. W. Webster	United Presby.	Sheakleyville, Mercer Co	G. Ma.
J. E. Dalrymple	M. E. Church	Wattsburg, Erie Co. Pa.	H. Ma.
J. H. Richardson	Lutheran Church	Union Mills, Mercer Co	Co. F Ma
Wilbur F. Kinsley	M. E. Church	Essexville, Crawford Co. Pa.	H
J. K. Espey	do do	do do	do
Geo. A. Stephenson	do do	Chippewa Falls, Wyo.	Chippewa Falls, Wyo.
Henry C. Evans	do do	do do	do

city, thick columns of smoke were also seen to rise, and bright flames were seen, a number of buildings being on fire. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the firing ceased; orderlies were seen hastening on swift horses towards General Sumner's headquarters, and loud shouts and cheering filled the air—the city was ours."

Union soldiers had crossed the river in pontoon boats and driven away the enemy. The 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers were starting for Fredericksburg. A shell fell a few rods from Stuckenberg and severely wounded a comrade. Camping for the night on a hill, two miles from the city, the regiment entered it in the morning. The troops now had plenty of food, books, tables, mattresses from the deserted houses. The generals intended, it seemed, to give the city for pillage to the soldiers. A soldier gave Stuckenberg *Life of Washington* and a *Life of Lafayette*. The citizens had left so precipitantly that they could not remove, in many cases, their most valuable articles. Rich booty of all kinds was secured. Union men groaned under their loads of tobacco. Fine chinaware and silverware were taken for souvenirs or use. Lieutenant Mauvy's large library was scattered about the floor of an outhouse.

Never had the men felt better. They were again in homes. But the next day brought on the terrible battle of Fredericksburg, December 12, 1862. Shells began to fall in the streets. The regiment was ordered on the field. Many shook hands, pale and trembling. Stuckenberg relates that it almost unmanned him. The air was filled with shots and shells. Men wounded and frightened hurried past in confusion, or fell exhausted. Stuckenberg took possession of houses as hospitals, whose rooms were soon filled with the wounded. One soldier, a mere boy, was terribly wounded and asked the captain to kill him in mercy! He was removed, and probably died. In a cellar, as Stuckenberg went from house to house, he found a family and five slaves.

On Sunday, December 14, he went to the battle field. The scene was much like that of Antietam. He could hardly take a step, on returning to the hospital, without being

called from all sides to assist some wretched sufferer. The suffering was increased by the consciousness that General Burnside in his recklessness to storm the heights, had suffered an awful repulse, the national troops losing 8000 of their number.

On the 17th, Stuckenberg accompanied some of the wounded to the hospitals in Washington. The boat which he boarded was like a floating hospital. Many were removed to Philadelphia, to make room for new arrivals. Stuckenberg comments very favorably on the hospitalization in Washington, on the attentiveness of physicians, and kindness of the nurses.

On December 21, he heard Dr. Channing preach in the Senate Chamber, and a part of the sermon delivered by Dr. Stockton in the House of Representatives, the "latter looking very venerable and sitting in a chair while reading his sermon."

On December 24, having received furlough, he arrived at Erie, in time to celebrate Christmas Eve. About 450 of his regiment had taken part in the battle of Fredericksburg. Of these, 226, as he later learned, had been killed or wounded. General Burnside nobly took the responsibility of the battle upon himself, reporting 1152 as killed and about 7000 wounded. General Lee still remained master in the field.

## § 2. Correspondence—First Furlough in Erie

During his absence from Erie, Stuckenberg kept up correspondence with his congregation. Its leading member, H. Gingrich, had informed him that the draft had affected the little church severely and had for the present prostrated all its energies in the matter of building. Most of the drafted men hired substitutes at \$250 to \$400. The general health was good, though some families were suffering from diphtheria and scarlatina in mild form, causing a few deaths.

H. Jarecki, who was deeply interested in the work of the



church, wrote that the Sunday gatherings were lacking in the right spirit. In lieu of a minister to preach, Mr. Gingrich would read a sermon from the sermon book of Ludwig Hofacker. But people demanded the spoken word, by a minister.

F. Reuss, who was setting up the frame of the church, complained about the expensive draft and expressed as his belief, that if the chaplain would not return, the church building would never become an actuality.

Mrs. M. C. Keefer, whose husband was incurably ill, wrote touchingly about the funeral of Fickinger, who had died in camp, and about his father bringing the corpse home. Stuckenberg must return, she said. The church would not prosper without him; folks would give fifty dollars to him where only one to others, quoting a Mrs. Scott.

Mrs. F. Whittich thanked him for attending to her son in his hours of suffering and pain.

Thus far, from Erie. But a letter also came from Miss Catherine Merrill, of Indianapolis, in whose school he had worked in Halle. She was a patriot, addressing him, "My Dear Friend and Fellow Patriot." She lauded his self-denying spirit and the cause of her country. She was sad about the country, nevertheless, and anxious about her brother, who was engaged in "chasing after Morgan in Kentucky, but under a commander, who, being a near relation of the guerillas, plays or seems to play a double game, since Morgan always seems to get away in time." Her interest in the struggle of the German people for a united country had not abated. "United Germany will be a glorious country." She assures Stuckenberg: "I should rather be a chaplain one year with an army in active, dangerous, laborious service than ten years in the finest congregation in the country."

He also received a stirring patriotic letter from Rev. Stohlmann.

In one of the many letters written him by his brother, from Cincinnati, hope was expressed for movements on the Potomac soon, as "I am tired of 'All quiet on the Poto-

mac.' " He asked, October 29, why the Union soldiers did not pursue the Confederates. "Why should it be the other way?" He inquired about General McClellan. "Was he a 'slow poke'?" He reported general satisfaction at the removal of Buell, but he personally had little confidence in his successor Rosecrans. Discussing monetary matters, he tells that "silver is worth twenty-five per cent premium, or, rather, a paper dollar is worth seventy-five cents." "Some of these days," he assures his brother, "when the banks are required to pay specie, you may look for a general smash-up in banks."

Stuckenberg, on his part, wrote a very long letter, October 13, to the members of his Erie Church. He encourages them to keep up public worship and have social meetings of some kind, besides. Perhaps a brother would occasionally preach for them. He does not regret the step he had taken. "The Sabbath school, the Ladies' Society, and the Choir must not be permitted to languish." He asks for intercession. "If ever a man needs grace, it is in the army; and of those in the army none needs it more than a Chaplain."

He also wrote, November 13, to H. Gingrich, describing his surroundings and encouraging him for holding services. As to the war, "I fear we are not fully aware of the terrible reality of this rebellion—its magnitude and strength." He now ventures the opinion that "Little Mac. ought to have been removed long ago."

To his parents and sisters he wrote December 4: "The rebels are making earthworks for miles along the river. One can see them drill. Judging by their camp fires, they must be numerous. Likely a battle will take place before the year of 1862 ends." He states he has asked for leave of absence to visit the sick at Washington, Georgetown, Alexandria, Harper's Ferry, and to get hospital stores for the sick in camp. There is much sickness in camp: colds, measles, rheumatism, camp fever (typhoid). He keeps warm by using hot coals in his tent. His dishes are a tin cup for boiling coffee and tea, a tin plate for frying meat,

knife, fork, and a spoon. "A colored woman washed my clothes lately. From her also I got milk and corn bread or biscuit daily. She is a slave, but quite intelligent. She lost a little boy two years old, a slave son, whose funeral I am to attend tomorrow."

At his arrival at Erie, December 24, Stuckenberg was approached or halted on the street by many who inquired about relatives and friends in the army. "They could not understand what it meant to have all of the sudden 12,000 wounded at the hands of a few." So many demands were made upon him at this visit, that he found but little time to call on members of his churches. One of the first he visited, was S. M. Browne, a dying man. He went to him several times, prayed with him, and gave him the Lord's Supper. Browne was a man of strong character. His funeral, in which one hundred carriages followed the hearse, took place on January 12, the day Stuckenberg had to return to the army. On Christmas Day he had attended the funeral of L. Brown, and later the funerals of Captain Washington Browne and Robert Finn. He also had many baptisms.

He preached at the Presbyterian church. It was so crowded that hundreds, unable to get in, went away. He was tired. For the first time a local paper criticised his sermon unfavorably, though the *Gazette* and *Dispatch* got into an argument about its merits. He preached in all three of his own churches, administering communion in each of them. His presence encouraged the people, also the project of the church building.

During this brief furlough, he did not forget to advocate in public a vigorous persecution of the War. On January 6, his birthday, he gave at Farrar Hall a lecture on the *Little Soldier*, on request. In the course of the address he made this statement: "I have learned that the great work of the present can not be done by talking. Something great must be done and done soon; and all language is valuable only in so far as it assists in accomplishing this object. . . . War is the business of the present. And as ours is a righteous cause, it should be an active business. And never can

our cause be successful until as a nation we think war and feel war and speak war and act war—till war becomes the ocean into which all the streams of our mental and active powers are flowing.”

With this tremendous conviction and in this spirit of determination, Stuckenberg, January 12, 1863, at midnight, departed for Washington. His short visit in Erie left a stabilizing, wholesome effect on the city, strengthening his people spiritually, but also the citizens at large in supporting the cause of the North.

### § 3. Again with the Army—The Battle of Chancellorsville

Arriving at Washington, January 14, 1863, Stuckenberg at once commenced the work of visiting the sick members of his regiment at the hospitals and the convalescent camp. He could not forego the chance to attend several sessions of Congress, as he had done before when in Washington. He heard a part of John A. Bingham's able reply to Clement L. Vallandigham's "semi-secession" speech, the latter moving about in the chamber with "affected unconcern, but cut to the quick." He also attended a lecture at the Smithsonian Institute, but confesses he was so tired that he slept through the whole speech, a very unusual and amusing occurrence for Stuckenberg.

On the evening of the 18, he arrived at Camp Falmouth. Having no tent up, he staid a few days with Captain Hilton. There was still a deep gloom and depression of spirits in the regiment, owing to the disaster at Fredericksburg.

He now preached his first German sermon in the army to the 127th Pennsylvania Volunteers. He took part in Chaplains' meetings, some twenty attending. He found the Methodist chaplains very clever, but "they lack cultivation." He knew only of two Lutheran chaplain in "this army," Shindler and Saunders. He held Bible classes and prayer meetings in his own tent.

Then he made an investment. He purchased an "eight years' old mare," which he describes as gentle, fast, good



looking, and a very easy pacer. He had always walked, and was pleased to be able to ride on the march. St. Patrick's day arrived and was celebrated by the Irish Brigade, which again made demonstrations, in horse and mule races, when hurdles and ditches were being jumped at break neck operation. General Hooker was one of the spectators. He had succeeded Burnside, and was already very popular.

Inspection took place April 17. The 145th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment was together with others in Caldwell's Brigade. Stuckenberg expresses admiration for General Hooker, who "has none of the assumed dignity and importance so common to officers, but is agreeable and pleasant, unlike the dashing, spirited, proud Meagher who excited admiration rather than love." Many happy days were spent in the winter camp near Falmouth, where joy and cheerfulness conquered gloom and despair.

Here the chaplain enjoyed books and papers, among which were Wordsworth's, Tennyson's, and Byron's poems; church papers and magazines like the *Lutheran Observer*, *Lutheran Missionary*, *New York Observer*, *Watchman and Reflector*, *Kirchenfreund*, and *Independent*. He had written three letters for the New York *Herold*, his first attempt to write in German for a paper. Rev. Stohlmann was encouraging him to do this.

He describes a prayer meeting one Sunday evening at General Howard's Headquarters. The tent was full; the general, staff orderlies and others being present. Stuckenberg states that he felt diffident at first, but afterwards quite at home. He read a part of St. John 6, and "made some remarks." Then General Howard made "some good, earnest, and practical remarks." "Whenever a friend died," the General said, "the first question he asked himself was, whether he had done all he could to save his soul. He asked himself this question when, a few days ago, he heard of General Sumner's death."

Such a confession was bound to strike responsive chords in Stuckenberg's heart. There is no theme that seems of more importance to him in his Journal, than that of facing

death: "Is the warrior prepared to meet his God, does he enter battle with prayers or with curses?"

Sometimes Stuckenberg also functioned as a banker. On April 21, after the paymaster had been around, he went to Washington "to express the money for the regiment." He carried ninety-two packages in his carpet sack, containing between \$21,000 and \$22,000. On this occasion he attended the union prayer meeting in Rev. John G. Butler's Lutheran church, held there regularly since 1858. He became a close friend of Dr. Butler. On the 24th, he returned to camp.

Marching orders had been given, with rations for eight days. The encampment was in a dark forest. After dusk, Stuckenberg started to water his horse, but lost his way. After much wandering and anxiety he fortunately happened upon the regiment, "all exhaustion and perspiration." Five hundred pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock were ordered. Soon cannonading and musketry were heard. "It was evident that the two armies had met." The battle of Chancellorsville had begun.

Wounded Unionists were coming down the road, shells were falling in the vicinity, but did not explode. After a while Union troops advanced against the Confederates with a fearful volley of musketry. Then silence. The Confederates were expected every moment. They could be distinctly heard giving their commands. Darkness was approaching.

On May 2, Stuckenberg joined his regiment which had fallen back from the position it held in the evening. The new position was not far from General Hooker's headquarters. The regiment was busy throwing up entrenchments, the chaplain also using a shovel. Orders were soon given for attack. The Confederates were at first repulsed. But to Stuckenberg's astonishment, a stampede followed, caused by the breaking and running of the 11th Corps. It was retreating pellmell in the utmost confusion.

"I saw horsemen and infantry by the thousand hurrying away from the scene of action. Some declared the rebels were after them, that we were completely whipped, that the whole army was retreating. I saw a line of cavalry

with drawn sabres and, beyond them, a line of infantry with bayonets fixed, trying to keep back the fleeing troops—but only with partial success.”

And now Stuckenberg's stubborn fearlessness showed itself. “The sight filled me . . . with indignation; but it also inspired me with . . . burning patriotism. The noble cause, apparently waning, seemed to me dearer than ever before. I felt as if I could fight for it, die for it, do anything to make it triumphant. Never did I feel more inspired than at that time. There seemed to be within me a burning fire ready to burst forth in the most eloquent utterings. Instead of being borne along with the retreating current, I faced it. They fled from the front, I hurried to it. I tried to encourage and inspire those I met . . . I met thousands fleeing from the field of battle, but found not a single man going the way I was. No matter, so much greater the necessity that I should go that way.”

He finally reached his regiment, which was glad to see him. He spoke encouragingly to all, telling them “the day would be ours yet.” “All saw I was no coward, and I was highly commended for my conduct. We expected an attack, but it did not come. . . . There was another fight that night. . . . We were not attacked. I had the pleasure of seeing many of the 11th Corps form again, in front of the brick house and go on the field again.”

On the morning of May 3, the Lieutenant-Colonel took a picket of 166 men from 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers. He and the 112 later missing, were likely captured. Shells came from the Confederates, the Union soldiers returning the fire. The Major was severely wounded, and had to have his arm amputated. “The brick house and where Hooker had his headquarters were shelled by the Confederates, and burned. The woods back of the brickhouse was on fire, many of the dead and wounded must have been burnt.”

In the midst of this, Stuckenberg met Lt. Mitchell, his friend from Davenport, who now was an engineer on Hooker's staff. An unexpected meeting. From him Stuck-



enberg got, from time to time, as they frequently met, interesting information as to what was transpiring at headquarters.

Orders came on the evening of the fifth of May "for us to fall back across the river. Sad now indeed. We were hoping that we would yet drive the rebels before us. It was a dark, starless, rainy night, leaving mud and pools of water." Ascending a path up a very steep hill, leading his horse, Stuckenberg was chagrined to find that the saddle and blankets had slipped off and fallen in the mud. He managed to get to the top, all the clothing wet, but slept soundly till daylight.

To resume: The battle had been fought on May 2, 3, 4. The Confederates lost their able general "Stonewall Jackson," in this battle. But the North had to retire across the Rappahannock, May 5th, Lee still maintaining the field.

The Journal reports for May 6, that one of the lieutenants "told me he had seen the tears trickle down General Couch's cheeks as he crossed the bridge." Both Couch and Hancock, it was said, had displayed much bravery, and each had a horse shot under him. The troops still appeared in good spirits, in spite of discouraging events. For May 9, we read: "And now we are back again in our old camp, which we left twice for the field of battle, and to which we twice returned, our number each time greatly diminished."

He had not yet learned the results of the battle. He still believed it his duty to stay with the regiment, "where my efforts for good have not been in vain." He had seen one general removed after the other. The battle of Antietam had resulted in the recall of McClellan, the battle of Fredericksburg in the removal of Burnside, and the battle at Chancellorsville had much to do with the later resignation of Hooker, who was followed by General Meade as Commander of the Army of the Potomac.

These defeats were not solely due to events on the field of battle. There were undermining forces at home. Hooker testified before Congress that at the time the army was turned over to him, desertions were at the rate of two hun-



dred men a day; so anxious were parents, wives, brothers, and sisters of volunteers to relieve their kindred that they filled the trains to the army with packages of citizen's clothing to assist them in escaping service. Even as late as in July, 1863, the draft riots in New York resulted in the destruction of at least \$1,500,000 worth of property and the loss of 1000 lives. The debt of the country was increasing at the rate of \$2,500,000 a day. There was a good reason to speak of Copperheadism at home.

The defeat of the Army of the Potomac, however, was fully atoned for by a series of brilliant victories by the National Army under General Grant in Mississippi. These were important in the crisis for keeping the Union sentiment alive.

§ 4. The Second Furlough in Erie—Suspense as to the Outcome of the War

Leave of absence for ten days was granted to Stuckenberg at headquarters, May 23, 1863. He arrived at Erie three days later, and spent a week with his congregations. He found the church building progressing. He suggested to those who were impatient for his return, that they get another preacher. But the answer of an Elder was, they would wait another year rather than do that.

During his second period of absence, of four months, he had again remembered his people with letters, almost pastoral epistles, including information about army life, especially about some officer or some private who expressed Christian sentiment or acted like a Christian. He related that he also preached to other regiments than his own, which he praised for keeping away from cursing and gambling, two of the worst vices in his eyes. He found soldiers of other regiments gambling by the wayside, even when the battle of Chancellorsville was being fought.

In his turn, he had received many letters. Young Charles Fickinger, brother of the deceased soldier, felt he was called to study for the ministry, and thus take up the work that had stood as the ultimate goal for his deceased brother.

Incidentally he tells that Mr. Gingrich read to the congregation sermons of Spurgeon and Charles P. McIlvaine. Stuckenberg could appreciate this, Spurgeon being an outstanding nonconformist and McIlvaine a doughty opponent of the Oxford Movement.

The chaplain also got letters, again, from Rev. Stohlmann about articles for the *Herold*, and from Catherine Merrill, reflecting opinions in Indiana about the War. People were turning their eyes, she said, from the petted Army on the Potomac to the less disciplined but more successful troops of the West. Letters she had received from competent men stated that the rebels never would be beaten by fighting. Stuckenberg's letters to her had counteracted these claims. She gave vent to her feelings: "It is dreadful to us who sit here helpless but agonized to think of our defenders being overpowered by the rattlesnake before them and the copperhead behind them." Concretely illustrating, "The secessionists among us (in Indiana), encouraged by the slow progress of the Government and by the bravery . . . and success of the Rebels, threw off almost all disguise, defending deserters even to the shedding of blood, boasting of the size of their Golden circle, and betraying even their battle sign.

"To their astonishment there was an uprising almost equal to the first great uprising of the people of Indiana; and from the Army came messages of bitter scorn and indignation, not only private and individual messages, but addresses from regiments and officers of every grade to our traitorous Legislature and our loyal people. . . . It is true our Legislature is discussing the propriety of reproving soldiers for their insolence, but when their temples cool, I think their reproof will become fawning."

She described an immense Union meeting in Indianapolis. She could not go, but her sister Mina went, "and says it was enough to fill one's eyes with tears only to see the crowd. The speeches were sincere, the enthusiasm boundless. At the square Governor Johnson was making a speech. Describing the happiness and glory of the country, he ex-

claimed, 'Who would be traitor to such a land? Tell me, where is the man?' 'There,' cried a loud voice from the crowd, 'right over your head and his name is Brown.' Taken by surprise, speaker and crowd turned their faces up, and there, in the window, of the State House, sat Mr. Brown, a rabid secessionist member of the Legislature."

She mentions Governor Wright as another speaker. She was proud of him. He was "our ambassador to Prussia" when Stuckenberg, she and her sister had been at Halle. Governor Oliver P. Norton was to be present, but had fallen and sustained an injury. His absence was a great disappointment to the crowd, which regarded him as the savior of the state. She tells that the Legislature tried to make it out that the meeting was for the purpose of over-awing them. She thought that this was the real purpose, and hoped that it had been accomplished. In a motherly way, she inquired whether Stuckenberg got papers enough and whether he needed books. Her brothers were in the army, but neither would leave it for anything in the world. Thus Miss Merrill unburdened herself, March 1.

Stuckenberg appreciated a letter like this. He was as concerned about Pennsylvania, as she was about Indiana. Again, as at his former visit to Erie, he impressed on his people the stern duty of prosecuting the war to the finish. In an address at a picnic, he said "some pretty hard things about the Copperheads, thereby offending a number of the members of the church." One who heard the address, however, recalled with a thrill the electrifying effect of "his passionate contempt for disloyalty." In the great crowd were "Copperheads," angered at the young pastor for having won to the war party some of their former adherents. It was even reported by some that in camp Stuckenberg was in the habit of drinking, which was a malicious falsehood, as every one in the regiment knew.

His endurance was being severely tested. But he clung to his regiment. He was soon to witness the battle of Gettysburg. Meanwhile the atmosphere was charged with strong tension and deep suspense.

## § 5. A Present from the Regiment—The Battle of Gettysburg

On June 4, Stuckenberg rejoined his regiment. On the next day he received a surprise. It was not a Trojan horse, but it was a horse; for the horse which he had bought was no more. During a dress parade, Colonel Brown presented the chaplain with one hundred fifteen dollars as "a slight token of our regard" for the purpose of purchasing a horse. The soldiers had talked of the matter before the battle of Chancellorsville, but after the battle the regiment was so reduced, having a little over two hundred men left, that the project seemed only remotely possible. However, the officers gave about fifty-five dollars, and the regiment the rest. Stuckenberg acknowledged the present, in a short speech. He valued the gift on its own account, but all the more because of the feeling it indicated on the part of the donors. He bought, three days later, a five year old mare for one hundred fifty dollars. This token of good will made him feel less like resigning, he wrote.

On June 10, he went to Aquia Creek for the purpose of expressing money. He managed to get to Washington and returned the next day. The Brigade now left camp, marching rapidly for two days in intensely hot weather. He called it a "retrograde march." The road was lined with those that fell out panting and exhausted. Many cases of sun-stroke occurred. Walking and carrying heavy loads on such a march "made battle seem preferable." The dust made it sometimes impossible to see the column in the immediate front. But dust from another army was appearing in the West, great clouds of it, where Lee's army was marching. Blankets and tents and overcoats and all articles of clothing except what the soldiers wore, were thrown away, sometimes covering the road, sometimes gathered in heaps and burned lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Those whose strength gave out were afraid to stop and rest, because they were in great danger of being taken by the rebels. So they dragged their sick bodies and their weary, sore limbs along until they fell by



the roadside panting for breath, some unconscious and others at the point of death. All suffered terribly. Stuckenberg assisted by carrying guns and letting tired soldiers ride his horse while he walked.

At Centreville were 4000 of Heinzelman's Corps, many of whom were aching to get into a fight. These soldiers did not appear to have seen any hard service and were called by "our men" band-box soldiers. They had thin clothing, carried light loads and had wedge or wall tents. Their surroundings were beautiful and they were in constant communication with Washington, only twenty-five miles away. Still, they seemed discontented.

The Brigade now arrived at the battlefield of Bull Run, where in July, 1861, the Union troops and Confederates had met for the first time. Stuckenberg noticed many graves, solid shot, pieces of shell, parts of wagons scattered about. The second Bull Run field was reached, whose sight was ghastly. Graves had not been dug; but dead soldiers had been laid together, covered slightly with earth, which, partly washed away, revealed the horror of bleached bones and the blue trousers of a Union soldier. Haymarket was passed, with only chimnies left. The week of heavy marching ended at Thoroughfare Gap, the men being too tired to make coffee, though they had not had any since morning.

Marching resumed, they beheld with pleasure the shores of Maryland. They had met unwelcome everywhere in Virginia, but Maryland treated them as friends. More marching, and they picketed three miles from Frederick City. Stuckenberg, accompanied by Captain Reynolds went to the city, with its beautiful residences and display of flags. The Lutheran church, he found, was especially attractive. The streets, though, offered the sad sight of many soldiers lying dead drunk.

The next day he carried mail from his regiment to Frederick. He then hurried to meet it at Uniontown, for which it had set out in the morning. He met Lt. Mitchell, who persuaded him to accompany him to the home of Rev. Miller, where he met Dr. J. J. Weaver, a Lutheran, who

invited him to stay at his home, which he found an "oasis in this war."

July was approaching. Lee's army had prestige, enthusiasm and the hope of further great victories. The northern army was psychologically in poor condition for meeting Lee. On July 1, Stuckenberg's comrade soldiers with much pleasure crossed the line of Pennsylvania. They halted in the woods. Occasional firing assured them that another battle was imminent. The battle of Gettysburg had begun.

Col. Brooks summoned all the officers of the Brigade before him and said that General Meade had requested all the commanders to exhort those under them to do their duty faithfully, and that then, perhaps, the impending battle might end the war. Then Stuckenberg prayed.

"Seeing the Irish Brigade bowed in prayer, and feeling deeply impressed with the idea that many might enter the battle never to return, I asked permission of Col. Brown to hold worship before entering the battle. He willingly acquiesced. 'Attention' was called. After a few remarks, we all joined in prayer." The occasion, writes Stuckenberg, was a very solemn one. It was the last prayer in which some of the regiment ever joined.

To follow the movements of Stuckenberg during these three days of battle is impossible. He made many and long expeditions to find wounded, let them ride his horse, administered stimulants, bandaged, got stretchers. He had delicate and sometimes very unpleasant tasks to perform. He mentions many prominent soldiers who were wounded. Some of them recovered. John K. Hilton, of Erie, in a letter written to Mrs. Stuckenberg forty-three years later verified the data in his Journal about the farewell which he, severely wounded and not expected to live, gave Stuckenberg, who was trying to give aid to him on the battlefield. He had even instructed Stuckenberg as to where he wanted to be buried. He, his servant, and Stuckenberg—all wept. "Bury me," he said, as if utterly hopeless of recovery, "under this tree."

Concerning the battle on July 2, Stuckenberg writes,

after having passed over the ground on July 4: Beyond the wheatfield was a meadow, beyond that some woods. There were many rocks and bushes, behind which the rebels had hid. But so suddenly did our men charge on them, that they threw down their arms and surrendered. Our regiment had passed over the meadow and through the edge of the woods to a brook and across this to a high ledge of rocks. Guns, bayonets, and bayonet scabbards, cartridge boxes and cartridges, haversacks and canteens were thrown and scattered in all directions. "Among the dead we soon recognized those of our own regiment—Talmadge, Co. I; Cochran, Co. C; Taylor, Co. D. They were carried to an apple tree, under whose shadow they had fought. I offered a prayer and left the bodies there to be buried. Immediately to the right of the ledge of rocks were our sharpshooters, some of them behind trees, firing constantly. I saw the tree behind which some were posted, a few days later, its bark cut on its sides by rebel bullets aimed at our sharpshooters. Whilst looking for our dead a bullet, aimed at some one of us, whistled past us, warning us that we were exposed to rebel sharpshooters.

"I was requested by the Major of the 64th N. Y. to hold services in his regiment. I did so immediately after leaving our dead. The men were behind their breastworks, I stood in front of them. Brisk skirmishing was going on all the time, and rebels as well as our men could be seen running and firing. A rebel flag was also seen at the edge of the woods. Worship at such a place, at such a time, with fearful scenes just enacted and being enacted, was very solemn. I thanked God that we had been spared, prayed for the many wounded and remembered the relatives and friends of the killed. The soldiers felt deeply, and many were moved to tears. I passed on to our regiment and was going to hold services there. But just then I saw a regiment of our troops marching forward where the skirmishing was going on. A rebel battery concealed in the woods opened on them, enfilading the regiment. The regiment faced about and retired. One shell passed over them, then



came grape and canister, which struck directly in front of us. I was advised to retire. Whilst doing so, a shell passed directly over my head, and unpleasantly near, and struck by a barn in which my horse was tied. I returned to 2 Corps hospital, visiting several others to look for wounded of our regiment. I found Lt. G. H. Finch, Co. E, since dead.

"In the afternoon it rained very hard. Some of the wounded were in shelter tents which sheltered them poorly, others lay in the rain and mud, covered with a woolen or rubber blanket or nothing at all. I labored to shelter them till I was wet through—and returned to my tent very weak and sick. It was a sad sight to look at the hospital at any time, but especially when those severely and mortally wounded were thus exposed. And nothing could be done for them. After the rain, I, with Stallman, Co. I, got some hay and placed under the wounded. I gave my rubber blanket to one of our men, my woolen one to Mr. Brown, and tore another woolen one belonging to Lt. Col. McCreary and divided it between E. Allen and H. Mann, Co. I.

"What a hospital on or near the field of battle is, can only be known by those that have seen one. There were between 2000 and 3000 wounded in the 2 Corps hospital. In first Division there were two operating stands, where the surgeons were constantly consulting about operating and were performing amputations."

It will be noticed that the word "wounded" recurs ever so often, almost to monotony, in this excerpt. That the wounds were not slight is forcibly brought home by the remark made about one of the hospitals: "Heaps of amputated feet and hands, arms and legs were seen lying under the tables and by their sides."

There were also wounded soldiers, of whom callous enemies would take advantage. Such a wounded one was a Lt. Lewis, who had his legs amputated. He had been lying on a field till a rebel for twenty-five dollars brought him to a house to the rear. But "they stole his watch, canteen, money, also his haversack. He could not sleep. He has



since died. He was a noble young man. We loved him, we admired him. He is one of the many truly noble sacrifices given to our country. He was calm and resigned when I saw him, and frequently, I was told, was found praying. The thought of his death greatly saddens me. For I loved him and had great hopes for him. Never shall I forget how willingly he once received my reproofs for what turned out to be a sham duel."

As another battle was soon expected, Stuckenberg had to leave the wounded. On July 7 he was near Taneytown, paid a visit to Gettysburg College, called at Professor Stoever, who was not home, and had a passing introduction to Dr. H. I. Baugher.

So many of his best friends in the regiment were absent, there being left in it only about 100 men, and less than that number carried muskets. Thoughts of resigning, especially due to the Fabian tactics of officers which he witnessed, again seized him, but he was not yet ready to leave his regiment.

§ 6. The Last Three Months in the Army—Military Execution of Deserters—Appreciation

The Union army had been victorious at Gettysburg, but again it failed to pursue the enemy. Lt. Mitchell again visited Stuckenberg and was "indignant that the rebels had been allowed to escape," attributing it to "damnable imbecility." Stuckenberg was of the opinion that, the river being so high, Lee could not have escaped if pursued. Panic would have seized his troops.

On July 20, the Union troops camped at Bloomfield. By the camp was an old straw stack, fit for nothing but fertilizing the soil. The soldiers thought they could use it for bedding. But a guard was put around it. "Union soldiers can sleep on hard ground," was Stuckenberg's ironical entry. He discovered that "the stack belonged to a rebel," and that the "corps was commanded by a Virginian, and this was his explanation of the stupid economy practised against tired soldiers."

It was difficult to bring the Journal down to date in the days of seemingly never ending marching. August 12 he again expressed money at Washington for his regiment and for the 64th New York, and for some others. Being taken sick, he spent a week in the Georgetown Hospital, his only loss of time in service. He was on his own request discharged from the hospital on August 21. He took dinner at Washington with some officers and returned to Bealton, where the regiment was now having its camp.

The long stay at Bealton was marked chiefly by the partial filling up of the depleted regiment with conscripts and substitutes, "a poor lot compared with the fallen volunteers, yet amenable to kindness. Many of them opened their hearts in broken English to the chaplain. Friendships were formed or deepened during those days."

He writes about his walks with Major Reynolds on cool evenings, and about another Chaplains' meeting, largely given over to the discussion of "grievances". He deplored that it did not discuss things that would benefit spiritually and prepare the profession for better work.

There were amusing incidents in camp, now as before, but of greater variety owing to the influx of heterogeneous elements of the soldier population and to the consciousness of belonging to a regiment that had participated in a great victory in war. The regiment held an election on the governorship of Pennsylvania. An Irishman was asked whether he would vote for Curtin. "I vote for Curtin?" he said in astonishment. "I'm a Democrat and vote none of your Republican tickets. Hurrah for Jackson!" The vote of the regiment was: All officers, 15, for Curtin. Enlisted men for Curtin, 171; for Woodward 4.

There were sad incidents, too. On August 28, for the first time Stuckenberg witnessed a military execution of deserters. He relates it as follows:

"At three P. M. the troops of that Division (2 of our Corps) were drawn up to form three sides of a square. The guns and swords were glistening in the bright sun, the flags were floating on the breezes, officers were riding about

proudly on the steeds as if on parade, and the whole formed an imposing scene. Among the soldiers there was considerable feeling, but some could not refrain from rude jokes and profanity. 'Quite healthy place this,' said one, 'where you've got to shoot men to start a graveyard.'

"When the troops were all there, a mournful tune was played by the brass band, marching with slow tread towards the scene of execution. Then came fifteen or twenty men, soldiers, with guns loaded, who were to shoot the prisoners. Then came sixteen, carrying on their shoulders two black walnut coffins. They were followed by a chaplain having one prisoner on each arm and a Bible in his hands. One of the prisoners was about twenty years old and looked very pale, the other was over thirty and looked more calm and composed. Then came some twenty guards with bayonets fixed. A deep solemnity was everywhere manifest as this procession marched with slow and solemn tread towards two graves, the place of execution. The band halted near the graves and ceased playing.

"The coffins were placed on the ground, one beside each grave. The prisoners advanced and stood in front of the coffins facing the troops. Orders were read to all the troops. The chaplain then made a short prayer and bade them farewell. An officer stepped up to bandage their eyes. They pulled off their coats and carefully folded them, the one throwing his by his side, the other laying his on the coffin. The officer after bandaging their eyes, told them to kneel on their right knee, and shook hands with them. The older one then immediately stretched out both hands, as if to say, I am ready. The officer then gave the command, 'Take aim! Fire!'

"Both fell instantly, the one forward, the other on his side. They uttered no groan, scarcely moved. Not being quite dead, each was shot again by a soldier stepping close to them. Their bloody bodies were placed in the coffin, after the troops had been marched by them, and were buried. I turned away sick and sad. . . . Two women were present, the rest were nearly all soldiers."

The horror of desertion in war! Stuckenberg had no affection for any deserter. But he particularly abhorred one type, the substitute who had been paid several hundred dollars by the drafted soldier and who had enlisted with the sole purpose of obtaining the money, and getting away from the army at the first opportunity. There were indeed some substitutes who had been fooled into the army, men who had just arrived from Europe and had been told that they were not to bear arms, but have this or that kind of work in camp.

Several of them approached Stuckenberg, sometimes with pitiable and truthful stories about their past and their family in Europe. He would then plead their case before higher officers when he thought this was needed. But some lied, presenting fantastic stories about their past, tales so ostensibly colored and absurd that no notice could be taken of them.

Stuckenberg gladly did a fellow soldier a turn, if the facts, truthfully told, warranted it. He refused offered "fees" or gifts.

Ten deserters were reported one morning and four in the afternoon. Gambling was increasing, likewise thieving, profanity, sleeping on post and disobeying orders. Men were seldom tried before; now, trial was no uncommon occurrence. All of this again turned his thoughts to Erie.

On August 29 he wrote to his brother: "I have not yet offered my resignation, but shall likely do that at the close of the month. The regiment is much opposed to my leaving them, and so are many others in our Brigade. The Brigade Commander, Col. Brooks, regards me with special favor and has spoken in the most flattering terms of my labors to some officers in our regiment. But I think I can work my resignation through. They are plastering the new church in Erie and expect to have it ready for me this fall."

Mr. Gingrich, informed of the chaplain's plan, to return soon, was happy. As to political Erie, he reported that "Politicians are very active just now in their anxiety to serve the country—in securing emoluments of office, ex-



hibiting, I think, a greater intensity of feeling than I have ever witnessed. Yet, I think, Gov. Curtin's prospects are promising, notwithstanding that the vote of the soldiers will be cut off."

As far as Stuckenberg was concerned, "he was honorably discharged October 4, 1863, having tendered his resignation," to quote from a letter from the Adjutant General's Office, September 13, 1932. The same letter states that according to the records Stuckenberg "was mustered into service December 10, 1862, at Falmouth, Virginia, to date September 5, 1862, as Chaplain, 145th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry." It adds that "a Chaplain of the Volunteer force drew the pay and allowance of a Captain of Cavalry." Stuckenberg had been with the army thirteen months. Eighty per cent, at least, of the men originally constituting his regiment had lost their lives or were physically unable to serve any longer. Stuckenberg felt that his work in the army was done.

How was he appraised by his comrades? Actions speak louder than words. The money they gave him with which to buy a horse was an impressive testimony to their high esteem of him. But the following words of praise may also render their share in picturing the man.

Said Col. Charles M. Lynch about Stuckenberg: "He was cheery, jolly, always helping the men. . . . We liked his judgment, his plain sense, and his enthusiasm. . . . He was professionally brave, stuck to his post, remained with us. He preached for other regiments, and the men of other regiments would come in to our services. He preached at Brigade headquarters. Other chaplains horsetraded, but ours was a sincere earnest man."

Col. John E. Brooks, afterwards Major-General in the army, said: "We fought till after dark. Stuckenberg went right on with us into the battle. . . . He did so much good. Erie county must have been full of letters about it to sweet-hearts and families. He was the men's banker; before a battle, they left their money with him."

Much as he forty years later praised Lincoln's Emancipa-

tion Proclamation, of January 1, 1863, Stuckenberg said nothing about it in his Journal. To Lincoln the Journal refers only once: "Lincoln at Falmouth looked a queer figure. On a small horse, his feet almost touched the ground, had on a silk hat and was dressed in black."

The chaplaincy in the army was of inestimable value for Stuckenberg. He saw and learned things there which were never to be forgotten. First, religiously. For the "Lutheran Observer," February 9, 1863, he wrote *The Effect of a Battle on Man's Religious Views and Feelings*. His observations resulted in the conclusion that partaking in war, in a battle, leads a man nearer to God or it petrifies his heart. Second, he acquired much practical psychology, a deep knowledge of humanity, not on parade, but as it is. Also for his future Philosophy and Sociology he derived lessons from the War. As to Theology, he had learned to realize how inadequate a creed was for expressing a man's spiritual life. He was looking for an ideal church, somewhere. His regimental church had accepted the Bible as Creed, which left the individual his freedom in interpreting it. His first object was to get people under the influence of the Gospel. In quest for his ideal, he limited himself to the visibly organized church as, in a measure, the visibilization of the kingdom of God. This meant the ethicizing of the church, which he later stressed in his works on Sociology. In returning to Erie he was, however, more the seeker than the man with a fixed system of Theology.

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## CHAPTER X

# Resumption of Regular Pastoral Work in Erie Church

(1863-1865)

### § 1. A Busy Ministry

AT THE RETURN of Stuckenberg to Erie, in October, 1863, the church building was swiftly completed. The site chosen for the new church was a strategic one. He threw himself heart and soul into the work of consolidation. The membership grew apace, and while this was still very largely drawn from the country, the church was rapidly becoming a city church.

The Sunday school was now quite large with city pupils and country teachers. The Sunday lectures at Wayne Hall, previously mentioned, also reached a large audience outside of Erie, as they were published in the city newspapers. In the summer of 1864, on request from Rev. Gottlieb Bassler, in behalf of the Synod, Stuckenberg visited Canada, preaching several times in Lutheran congregations, at Markham and Vaughan, made vacant by the resignation of their minister. The nearest Lutheran pastor was at least 200 miles distant. Rev. W. A. Passavant was sincerely pleased at the visit of Stuckenberg and corresponded with him as to selecting a pastor for these two churches. Stuckenberg was by this time well known among Lutheran churches and synods. His contributions to church papers, his articles about the War, and his record at Erie brought inquiries to him about his willingness to accept calls to other churches. A call to Indianapolis was perhaps hardest

to decline, although three years later we find him pastor in that city. Rev. Passavant tried to persuade him to remain, arguing along the line of "divine call."

At this time Stuckenberg believed that his duty lay in Erie. This pleased his congregation. But not all of them knew what membership involved beyond attending church worship and contributing a little money towards the salary and the building fund. On one occasion Dr. Sprecher, of Wittenberg College, visited Erie and was taken by Stuckenberg to call on a well-to-do widow of the congregation who cheerfully gave the Wittenberg President one hundred dollars in answer to his plea of the needs of the college. Relatives of the widow promptly criticised the pastor for his share in the transaction. Erie "Copperheads" bore him a grudge, since the days of his recruiting campaigns and his part in the War, and were ever ready to show this bitterness when opportunity was offered.

He never tired emphasizing the value of study. As stated before, he persuaded some to go to Wittenberg College, others to Edinboro Normal school, and two girls to attend at Painsville Lake Erie Seminary, now a college, a daughter institution of Mt. Holyoke. His future wife, Mary Gingrich, was one of these girls. He himself had plans to return to Germany to study.

He was much in demand, people also outside of Erie laying claim to his time. Soldiers in camp would approach him in letters, asking for his help. One had sent \$200 to Germany for his passage, and the check when cashed amounted to \$159. Would Stuckenberg explain this? Another had some notes and property to look after. Would not Stuckenberg attend to that? Again, one wanted him to buy him a musical instrument and have it sent to him. J. C. Müller wrote him in German from a camp in Virginia that he had become *mondbind*. He desired that if anything should happen to him, \$35 of his money be given to the church, and the rest of his belongings to his poor brother in Germany, who had eight children. At bright moonlight and starry night it was pitch dark for this man. At night



marches he had to be led by a comrade. He had been suffering for two weeks. He thought the cause was to be sought in the bad water. There was not a single good spring near the camp. The water used by soldiers came from mines, ten to fifteen feet deep. It "looks like butter being mixed with whitish sand." He was eating cheese which he had been told was good for the stomach. So far Mr. Müller. Wm. M. Brown wrote, expressing regret that he could find no English Lutheran church in Columbus, and that he feared to tell his folks that there were 300 to 400 cases of sickness in the hospital and 30 cases of smallpox. There had been 250 rebel prisoners at camp, which Col. Weber, of Ohio 88 Vol., took from the prison to Fort Delaware. On the way up, one of the captains undertook to escape but was captured and shot. The prisoners were men of rank, two major generals, four brigade generals, fifteen colonels; the rest were majors, captains and lieutenants.

Such information was not unwelcome to Stuckenberg. Also Lt. Mitchell, studying chemistry at Cambridge, wrote him an informing letter. But Stuckenberg was no mere recipient of information. He felt the drive to impart what he knew. In January, 1864, he gave a lecture in Warren, Pennsylvania, about the battle of Gettysburg; in February, two lectures in Springfield, Ohio, before professors and students in Wittenberg College on "Student Life in Germany." He also lectured at Waterford, and before some 400 students at the State Normal School at Edinboro, Pa., a school with a strongly religious atmosphere.

In his own churches he was busy. He would often ride 54 miles on horseback on Sunday, to and from services. He wished he had only the city church to take care of, and therefore in May, 1864, resigned from the country churches. On July fourth, thirteen Sunday schools celebrated the Nation's birthday in West Park in Erie, Stuckenberg being the speaker. Matters were less peaceful about Gettysburg, from which Professor Stoeber wrote that the wildest excitement was prevailing in his part of the country. "The burning of Chambersburg has very much aroused our citi-

zens. Quite a number of rebel prisoners have been picked up in the neighborhood of Gettysburg. We are certainly living in extraordinary times." On July 30 a small Confederate force had crossed the Potomac and marched northward to Chambersburg, the greater part of which they reduced to ashes.

§ 2. Co-Translator of "Hagenbach"—Compared with Dr. Passavant—Growing Clearness as to the Relation Between Faith and Knowledge—Asks for Hand of Mary Gingrich—The Attraction of the German University

Stuckenberg continued to serve the country churches, since they could not find a successor to him. For the city church a new organ, costing one hundred seventy dollars, was procured. Lt. Wm. M. Brown, of Erie, but now in camp near Washington, showed his good will by sending some money to Stuckenberg to help in purchasing it. Christmas Day was celebrated in 1864, and the congregation in Erie demonstrated its good will again by giving the pastor fifty dollars, in an "envelope on the tree," to which sum eight dollars was added later. But what perhaps contributed most to his happiness this Christmas was the publication, by the Edinburgh firm T & T Clark, of the English translation, made by Stuckenberg and his friend Wm. Leonard Gage, of Dr. Karl Hagenbach's Church History of the 18th and 19th centuries. As formerly stated, the translation, in which the authors took justified liberties with the text, here and there abridging and condensing it, with the advice of Professor Tholuck and the sanction of the author, —was begun in Germany. It appeared under title of "*German Rationalism: In its Rise, Progress, and Decline in Relation to the Theologians, Scholars, Poets, Philosophers and People.*" The Introduction of nineteen pages is mainly the work of Stuckenberg, who also translated chapters 14 to 23. The translation itself comprises 409 pages. At this period both translators practically identified their own theology with the theology in this book.

This translation was welcomed by the *British Quarterly*,

*The London Review*, and the *Churchman*, all commending it highly.

Stuckenberg felt, however, keenly the need of more study. "Indeed, it seems as if I now know less than ever before." He hoped the time would not be far distant when he could return "to the classic and philosophic halls of Germany." He had met a "son of Judge Lowry"—likely Rev. Samuel Thompson Lowrie—whose sermons in Park Church were highly spoken of, and who had studied in German universities. This pastor, about thirty years of age, helped to fan the fire in Stuckenberg's heart to return to Germany. There was indeed a chance for him to write a popular history of the War, but he left that to D. W. Winschester, who asked him for data concerning his career in connection with the 145th Pennsylvania Volunteer regiment.

He was hungry for the European library and university. In a letter declining a call from a church in New York, he stated he had resigned his charge "to spend several more years in German universities with the hope of fitting myself for greater usefulness in the Lord's Vineyard." To his parents he wrote that he planned "to attend several Universities, but have no idea how long I shall remain."

His relatives and the majority of his acquaintances in the ministry, including Dr. Passavant, expressed disapproval of his going. German rationalism was what they mainly feared. However, he could not be prevailed upon to change his mind. On May 28, 1865, he preached his farewell sermon, reported in the Erie papers. The congregation which he had organized had received into its membership 106 people. He had baptized 83 children, and there were 174 in the Sunday school. He had preached in and around Erie about 300 sermons and had delivered many lectures and patriotic addresses. He used English in Erie, but German at McKean and Fairview. The property of the church in Erie was valued at \$6000.

Mrs. Harriet N. K. Goff composed two poems for the farewell services, which were printed for distribution. Dr. Passavant wrote: "I am deeply sorry for your own sake

that you have taken this step, for few will be able to see how you could leave such a field of which the Holy Ghost has so manifestly made you the Overseer . . ." The letter was not written in any censorious tone, but it staggers before the problem of "rite vocatus," and the author confesses "It is often a subject of greatest difficulty to know when a man is "rite vocatus" and afterwards who should do aught to get him away from such a call."<sup>3</sup>

Rev. Passavant, a pioneer in philanthropic work in the Lutheran Church in America, had much in common with Stuckenberg, who always stressed that Christians had no right to evade social or civil righteousness. These two could have become a splendid team if they could have eliminated their doctrinal (intellectual) differences. But it was not to be. Both, however, contributed much that is lasting and inspiring to the Lutheran Church, or more particularly to the body which now roofs the two wings that they respectively championed, the United Lutheran Church in America. But the work of both extended far beyond the borders of their own church.

In retrospect, it may be noted that Stuckenberg was often discouraged in Erie. The roads were frequently muddy, attendance was often slack. Some members would stay away for weeks. A redeeming feature was the attendance of many strangers. Theologically, he was not a hortatory speaker. The indicative, not the imperative, received the emphasis in his addresses. In April, 1864, before the Y. M. C. A. in Erie, he lectured on "Reason and Faith, the Sphere and Authority of Each and Their Relation." He started with the Gnostics who wanted to substitute knowledge for faith, he spoke of the stifling atmosphere of the Middle Ages making its way even into the sixteenth century when Papacy imprisoned Galileo and frightened Copernicus. He then rapidly surveys dogmatic Rationalism, Deism, and French Materialism, and concentrates on the modern age of science, which alone, he said, does not solve the problem of life. "What we most of all need in our age is that reason and faith be assigned, each to its proper sphere.



Each evidently has its own domain in which it should reign supreme. Reason is the gift of God, and its powers should be developed to their utmost capacity. Man's reason is but a reflex of God's mind. . . . Now the mistake made by those who reject faith, is not that they value too highly its sphere, but that they make it supreme in matters in which it has no authority to decide. In science it is supreme; so, too, in all matters that can be learned by experience or observation or study. In other words, whatever can be positively known belongs to the domain of reason. But, surely, that man greatly mistakes our faculties who supposes that we must accept nothing but what can be positively known. Then we are to *believe* nothing, but we are only to *know*; then we are to have no *faith*, but only knowledge. . . . There is much that lies beyond the sphere in which our reason moves; for, human reason is limited in its operations and is not omnipotent. . . . Our faith must be reasonable. . . . Whether Christ was really the Son of God or not, pure reason can never decide; whether He ever worked miracles or not, reason of itself can never decide: but there must be good reason for my belief in Him as my Savior and as the worker of miracles before I can be expected to believe in Him. . . . Do we reject reason? We exercise it fully, but only in its proper sphere. . . . Reason turned loose from the heart leads to cold and dreary atheism. . . . Reason without faith is like a lake in a storm. Reason and faith are like that same lake, but clear and calm, from whose surface are reflected the objects above it. . . . The Grecian ideal of beauty was harmony—the perfect adaptation of one part to another. The true ideal of a perfect man is not predominance or perfection of one faculty, but the harmonious development and exercise of all.”

There was some of Kant's philosophy, some of Tholuck's theology in this. Stuckenberg's aim was to assure his auditors that faith has nothing to fear from science, because science was limited in its scope.<sup>4</sup>

He had faith, but he was humbly aware of his own limitations of knowledge. His Diary states this: “I am fre-

quently saddened by the reflection of how little I know and how much there is of which I am altogether ignorant, and must remain so during life. How anyone can be proud of his attainments is a mystery to me. Learning humbles a man because it makes him conscious of his ignorance and gives to his mind a distant view of the vast field of thought and science untrodden by him."

Was this state of mind only due to a consciousness of limited knowledge?

Before Stuckenberg left Erie for another period of study abroad, to the great concern and astonishment of Mr. and Mrs. Gingrich, he asked for the hand of their eldest daughter. Mary had always been her father's companion and was naturally interested in the things that had a permanent place in his thoughts; and when their pastor visited their home, she found herself taking quite an interest in the discussions she heard between the two men. Soon she found that there was much in the circle of the pastor's interests that attracted her. When about fourteen years old, she joined the German class which Stuckenberg taught in Erie; and in this class and the talks on German in her own home, quite a new world was opened to her. She was fascinated by the new language, by the great new literature which she was discovering, and by the interpretation of that life in other lands among which her ancestors had their origin.

Stuckenberg urged an immediate marriage in order that Mary might share with him the privilege of a sojourn in Germany, where she could continue her education. But her parents refused their consent, considering her youth. He then pleaded that she might be sent to an American institution of higher education. She became a pupil of Lake Erie Seminary at Painsville, received a teacher's certificate and taught school. She and her future husband exchanged from now on many letters.

To enjoy the confidence of this lady and know that she some day after his return from Europe would be his wife, constituted a mighty onward drive in his life abroad. But

there was also another incentive for going to Europe. Dr. Sprecher had written him a letter: "Inter nos, I have several times mentioned you as a suitable person for the theological chair in our institution. This has been objected to on the ground of youth. But there has been some thought of recommending you as professor of German with a view eventually of the theological department. Of course, I cannot tell what will come of it, perhaps another year in Germany will be just the thing." This communication was written in reply to a letter from Stuckenberg to Sprecher asking for advice in regard to a successor at Erie and his own plan to return to Germany for study.

On leaving Erie, a beautiful flag was presented to him by members of his Sunday school, a flag that throughout his life accompanied him everywhere on his travels and sojourns, and that on all national holidays was brought forward to commemorate the day and the affection that had contributed to it.

Stuckenberg's successor arrived at Erie in November, 1865, remaining till 1871. A doctrinal conflict arose in the General Synod, giving birth to the General Council. The new pastor after some years caused the church in Erie to change its constitution, and carried it over to the new body.<sup>5</sup>

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CHAPTER XI

## The Second Visit to Germany for Study

(1865-1866)

§ 1. At the University of Göttingen: Ewald, Ritschl, Lotze and Others

ON THE WAY TO EUROPE considerable inducements were proffered to keep Stuckenberg in America. Just before sailing, the call to the pastorate of a New York church was repeated, but the offer of a prominent position with a generous salary had no effect upon him, as he believed further study was his paramount duty at that time. He sailed on the "Teutonia", June 10, 1865. The voyage lasted fifteen days. Sunday services aboard were conducted by a Catholic priest and himself. A few hours after arriving at Hamburg, he attended the morning service at St. Nicolai Lutheran church. Eight or ten women were ushers. He describes the organ as strong and sweet, the singing as good, the sermon as evangelical. "There was less gaudy dress and show than in an American church. . . . The church was cold and the audience seemed so too, less reverence being manifested than in many other German churches."

The following day he matriculated at the University of Göttingen, which at its recent bicentennial celebration, in 1937, could report that of the 10,000 American students who had studied in German universities the last 125 years, 1400 had studied at Göttingen. Among these were John Jacob Astor, Jr.; the "Quartet" of Harvard: Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Joseph Green Cogswell, and George Bancroft; Longfellow, the poet; William Emerson,



brother of the philosopher; J. Lathrope Motley, friend of Bismarck; Elihu Root; a son of President Grant, of whom Fieldmarshall Moltke said he was America's greatest strategist; Joseph Royce, great Hegelian and pupil of Lotze; Jacob Gould Schurman, and Alanson Bigelow Houghton, both ambassadors.

The city of Göttingen, when Stuckenberg studied there, had about 10,000 inhabitants; one could walk around it in one half hour. Stuckenberg was attracted to the university by the presence of the most learned professor of Hebrew and Old Testament history, the two studies on which he was now desiring to concentrate his energies. There were seventeen other American students taking work in the university, but he does not seem to have made close friends among them. The conduct of some of them on their arrival at Hamburg shocked him.

Although the Göttingen professors did not take the personal interest in him or in his studies that the Halle professors had done, nevertheless he was greatly attracted to them as is shown in the articles he wrote about them in the *Lutheran Observer*. He studied twelve to fourteen hours a day, including the five daily lectures he heard. He was hearing regularly Georg Heinrich August Ewald, on Isaiah; Ernst B. Bertheau, in Theology of the Old Testament; Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter, in the Life of Jesus; and Heinrich Ritter, in Ancient Philosophy. He studied Hebrew with Klostermann, then *repetent*. He was especially gripped by the lectures of Ewald; of Albert Ritschl, in Systematic Theology; and Rudolf Lotze, in Philosophy. Commenting on Lotze's delivery, he said: "Lotze does not read his lecture, but takes a piece of paper out of his pocket to have something to look at. During the lecture he frequently and constantly keeps rubbing his forehead till it becomes quite red." Lotze became a favorite philosopher of Stuckenberg, who later in his works referred time and again to the author of *Microcosmus*. He liked him, especially because he was more constructive than historical in his treatment of Philosophy. Describing Ritschl, he says: "I called

on him last week . . . a man of about forty, rather heavy. He was quite free and full of life. He impressed me much more favorably at his home than he did during his lectures when he seemed to have rather a vain air, but I may have misjudged him. He told me that he was present at a meeting of ministers when one arose and declared that he regarded the revival in Barmen a few years ago, in the institution among children, as the work of God. . . . Ritschl arose while he was speaking, made considerable noise with his chair and left the room, thus manifesting his disapproval of the remarks made. Only a short time before this, he had said to his auditors that the revival could not be regarded as the immediate work of God, and for this reason he thought himself justified in showing his disapproval.

"Professor Ritschl is one of the rising young professors in Germany. He formerly belonged to the Tübingen school of Theology, and his first work was written in the spirit of that school. But more thorough investigation led him back to Christ, whose doctrines he now accepts and teaches. His appearance does not correspond with the ideas many persons form of a German professor. He neither stoops nor looks careworn; he is neither emaciated nor short-sighted. He looks as hale and hearty as a robust farmer and is a good liver, a fine talker, and cheerful companion as well as a close student. He is popular among the students, and of all the theological professors he has the most auditors." Thus the remarks of the thirty years old American observer concerning the later so well known head of the Ritschlian school.

Ewald was, however, the professor, who most influenced Stuckenberg at this time. He was one of the dismissed *Göttinger Sieben*. He left Göttingen for Tübingen, where he remained ten years, to be recalled to Göttingen, in 1848, where he next taught till his death, in 1875. Of Ewald, Stuckenberg confided to his Journal: "I also called on the celebrated Professor Ewald. He arose when I entered his study and received me kindly and willingly, granting my request to hear his lectures. But when I asked if he would

kindly sign some blanks in order that I might get books from the University library, he said: 'That is another matter. Have you any certificates that I may know something about you?' This took me by surprise and I felt the blood rush to my face. I, however, promised to bring them. After I had left the study and while standing at the head of the stairs, he asked me what I had been doing during the years since I had left Halle. I informed him that I had been stationed as pastor in Erie, and also that I had been chaplain in the army. 'Ah,' he said, 'then you can give an account of interesting matter. Come this evening at eight.' I went back to his house at the appointed hour and met Mr. Sumner (an American) there and several Swiss students. . . . When the professor entered the room, I immediately informed him that I had the certificates. He, however, refused to see them and gave me the signatures for the library which I had requested. We spent two hours at the table in eating and drinking and sociable intercourse. . . . Perhaps he has no superior as an Orientalist. He knows his superiority, too, and is apt to look with indifference, if not contempt, upon the labors of others.

"He never reads his lectures, but speaks without notes. Sometimes he becomes quite animated, rises from his seat and gesticulates freely. On favorite passages he becomes eloquent and poetical. . . . He is straight-forward, blunt, honest, upright, and conscientious. He carries his bluntness into his books, and has made many enemies with his merciless criticism. Though sixty-three years old, he works incessantly, and seems to need no recreation. . . . In his view of the Old Testament, he belongs to the critical school. He would not hesitate to say that the New Testament has its myths, and much more the Old Testament. . . . There is no levity in his character as there was in the case with the great Oriental scholar, Gesenius. Professor Ewald has a great reverence for the Word of God, especially through the prophets, whose utterances he frequently applies to present time."

Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter, Professor of Practical The-



ology and University preacher, pleased Stuckenberg very much. "He holds up the redemption by Christ, salvation by faith, and the absolute necessity of repentance and regeneration. . . . One sermon from him would dispel the illusion of those who think in the German church there is either only a dead Rationalism or a petrified Orthodoxy."

As to sermons, Stuckenberg was struck with the spare content in most of those he heard. This by no means, he explained, would make a man think that the preachers had sat under the most learned men in the world. The sermons were rich in edification, but rather limited in content, differing from those he usually heard in English speaking countries, where information was a greater moment in the sermon. Stuckenberg later learned the reason for the German type of homiletics then followed: the sermon must not be a lecture, but be of the type that can appeal to all who hear it; it was to have as much a message for the servant girl, of limited education, as for the university graduate.

Stuckenberg had much to relate about student life, at this time. In one of his articles he describes at length the students' *Mensur*, which he, however, did not regard as any serious affair. He records his observations in visiting the home region of his parents. He was provided with notes from home to direct him there as to what he most wished to see, each locality that he examined related to the family life. Two men accompanied him to lend service as guides. One was the farmer Strohschneider in whose *Leibzucht* he was born and who had been one of the sponsors at his baptism, a man greatly interested in promoting the object Stuckenberg had in view. The other was a young man who later became heir to the farm which two near relatives of his mother had occupied, and who became the most prosperous farmer of the region. He met old friends of his parents, the wife of the former pastor, Lange; she was his mother's most valued friend. Seeing the place where his father had built a house which he had to abandon, he concentrates his comment in the one word "pathetic".



At the end of the semester he said good-by to his professors and to the few friends he had made in Göttingen. He entered in his Journal, October 11: "Professor Ritter closed his lectures (philosophy) to-day. He seemed to be much moved as he bade his audience farewell. They stamped their feet and clapped their hands as he closed. His lectures had pleased me very much. . . . At times he has been eloquent, always interesting and instructive. Philosophy for many years has been my special delight, but I fear that now its study will have to be somewhat neglected, as I want to spend more time in Theology."

As shall be seen later, Stuckenberg presented in 1880 a major work on "Christian Sociology", the first ever written, as he with good reason contended. The permissibility or non-permissibility of the designation "Christian" as applied to Sociology will come up for discussion later. Friedrich Julius Stahl, the jurist, believed both in a Christian Philosophy (*Fundamente einer Christlichen Philosophie*, 1846) and a Christian State (*Der Christliche Staat*, 2 ed. 1858). Also Heinrich Ritter, of Göttingen cherished the notion of a Christian Philosophy (*Die Christliche Philosophie*, 1858-1859). Certainly Ritter's use of *Christlich*, applying it to Philosophy, must have influenced Stuckenberg somewhat when he applied it to Sociology.

§ 2. At the University of Berlin: Twesten, Dorner, Nitzsch, Böckh, Rödiger, Steinmeyer, Hengstenberg, and Others—American and English Friends—Herr Marcand—Asked to consider Position at Illinois State University—Visit of Philip Schaff in the Interest of Sunday Schools

The University of Berlin in 1865-1866 was more in accord with the administrative ideas of its founder, Wilhelm Humboldt, and of Eduard Spranger, his biographer, than with those of the very large universities of the present century, where the quantitative appraisal is apt to restrict the quality of research. At Stuckenberg's matriculation in this University, it had 2059 students and 873 "hearers" who were not regular students. It had 372 students of Theology. Arriving in Berlin and renting a room in 36 *Zimmer*

*strasse*, he had ample time to matriculate. For, October 11, he wrote that the lectures would begin in two weeks. When he appeared for matriculation, however, the University judge asked for his passport. Not having this, he was told he could not attend lectures. He felt more indignation than disappointment, since the dignitary's manner was anything but polite. However, not impressed with "the authoritative, imperious Monsieur Lehnert," he went to the obliging Rector of the University, Dr. Braun, brother-in-law of Agassiz, and won his case.

Stuckenberg attended the lectures of Friedrich Trendelenburg, on Philosophy; August Twesten, on New Testament; I. A. Dorner, on Christian Ethics; and Ernst Hengstenberg, on the Old Testament. He was keenly disappointed at not being able to hear Carl I. N. Nitzsch lecture, then almost eighty, and too old to lecture. He had heard him give an address, in 1860, in Halle, at the tri-centenary commemoration of the death of Melancthon. For one hour he had then stood in the rain reading his address. He was a man much admired for his learning and conciliatory spirit. He still gave a little instruction in Catechetics, and preached once in a while.

In Berlin Stuckenberg directed his studies to the New Testament. But he continued his studies in Hebrew, and did considerable work in Greek under the celebrated Philologist Philipp August Böckh, the oldest professor in the University. Professor Emil Rödiger, the Oriental scholar, had a strong attraction for him, and so had F. L. Steinmeyer, Professor of Practical Theology. He praised the latter's construction of sermons and his homiletical knowledge. He admired Hengstenberg's scholarship, but found him so exceedingly partial that he asked, "Can a man so partial as he is, give the unbiased truth?" Hengstenberg told Stuckenberg that his sympathies were with the South; slavery was not incompatible with Christianity, he regarded Lincoln as the Pharaoh, who would not let the Israelites (the South) go.

To Hengstenberg, however, orthodoxism was indebted

for his bold defense of the Old Testament and for editing *Die evangelische Kirchenzeitung* for which men like Tholuck and Neander had written and which took a decided stand against Rationalism. Hengstenberg attended a Union church, but its pastor was very orthodox.

The scholar who in Berlin made the most lasting impression on Stuckenberg was Isaak August Dorner, one of the outstanding personalities of the nineteenth century, a man of great scholarship, Christian liberality, and charity. He is described as an Eclectic in theology, and ecclesiastically as a Unionist, who would have felt much home in the General Synod. In philosophical depth and thorough scholarship, Stuckenberg found Dorner second to none.

It was during this sojourn in Berlin that Stuckenberg came in touch with that little meeting of British and Americans, held on Sunday evenings, which later became the American church, and of which he was pastor twenty years afterward. The meetings at this time were held in Jäger Strasse during the months the University was in session. Ex-Governor Wright of Indiana, Methodist, Minister Plenipotentiary to Prussia, took an active interest in these gatherings. Stuckenberg preached three times, alternating with Charles M. Mead, American Congregationalist, and Dr. Worthington Simon, English Congregationalist. Also James Curtis Hepburn, Presbyterian, known for his great missionary work, partly medical, in Japan, and for his many translations of books into Japanese, had preached at these meetings to great acceptance. Simon got his degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Tübingen in 1863, and was from this year to 1869 Berlin agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mead got his Doctor's degree from the same university in 1866. Both Mead and Stuckenberg frequently met in Berlin and in Tübingen in 1865-1866, becoming friends for life. They were to see much more of each other in subsequent years. Mr. and Mrs. Wright attended the sermons regularly. Stuckenberg received very great kindnesses from these two and was often a guest at their hospitable home. At her repeated request, he gave Mrs.



Wright lessons in German, until these were interrupted by his trip to Italy, early in March, 1866.

If Stuckenberg had been heart lonely in Göttingen, he had no lack of acquaintances and friends in Berlin. He was fortunate in having quite a number of letters of introduction from Halle friends; and through these he was able to meet many people who became his life-long friends. These friends "all belong to the conservative (government) party, and their opinion of America is by no means favorable. . . . I have often been led into disputes." They were biased against America, which they did not understand. He derived comfort from a letter of July 10, 1865, by Professor Hupfeld, his former teacher in Halle. Hupfeld here expressed his astonishment at the sympathy many German aristocrats showed for the "American aristocrats of slavery." "For it is quite un-Germanlike to sympathize with slavery and slaveholders; and I saw with satisfaction that in this, at least, the Germans in America were unanimous and conspicuous for their antipathy against slavery. But there is now beginning the great difficulty of settling the matter with equity and to the best of both parties, and without ruining the southern part of the United States. I wish from my heart that wisdom may preside in achieving this end. . . . I do hope that you will not pass through Germany without visiting your old friends here, and that you will let me hear more from you. . . ."

Among the people Stuckenberg now met in Berlin, perhaps no one regarded him with more affection than Heinrich Eugen Marcard, who, when he died in 1883, was *Ober Auditor a. D. Geheimer Justitsrath und Justitarius des Cadettencorps*, "member of the German Diet and of the Prussian House of Representatives, knight of high orders." Marcard hailed from Oldenburg, north of Stuckenberg's native province. Concerning developments of their own times, the sympathies of these two men were in wide divergence. Marcard wanted to see the Middle Ages projected into the present and was genuinely conservative in matters of religion and politics, with a grudge against modern



preaching, modern business methods, modern most everything. He enriched the conservative press with valuable contributions, but scorned to receive pay to promote his views.

The friendship of the two had an amusing origin. At an evening company Stuckenberg's attention was attracted to a somewhat boisterous conversation between two gentlemen in uniform. Their theme was America. Marcard made assertions against the North (U. S.), based on such evident misunderstanding that Stuckenberg could no longer keep silence, but approaching the disputants, said, "Pardon me, I am an American, I took part in this late war and (turning to Herr Marcard) the opinions you have expressed are based on misinformation." A verbal duel followed, neither making concessions.

They met frequently after this. Herr Marcard admired the readiness of Stuckenberg to "fight to a finish," and the latter responded with unremitting kindness. Marcard abhorred the effect of machinery, its dead mechanism driving ever deeper into living flesh, and the cities of Babylonish growth. He could not see how the race could retain its independence and simplicity, capacity and courage. Another principal abomination to Marcard was the Jew, followed at close pace by the American in promoting modern methods of industry. Americans were always ready with a "Yes—Yes," no matter what one said to them. He told Stuckenberg: "You are an unmixed Saxon, a Westphalian,"—when the latter defended America and himself as an American. Stuckenberg always defended the land of his father's adoption and of his own heart's love, holding up the great aims and achievements of its people. On the other hand, when complacent Americans ventured to attack Germany, they were made to feel that this could not be done with impunity in his presence. He very quickly brought home to them the facts of the defects of the United States. He was loyal to both countries, and desired that they contribute to each other.

Marcard often invited Stuckenberg to his home and

sought to procure for him social opportunity to meet people worth knowing: military officers, members of the Diet, poets, and artists. Several of these remained on terms of friendship with him, for instance the Catholic poet, Friedrich Wilhelm Weber, author of the epic *Dreizehnlinden* (133 editions in 1906) and the Norwegian artist, Magnus von Bagge.

Letters from American friends added to his happiness. Not considering here those from his relatives, mention may be made of letters from Lt. L. H. Mitchell, who now was studying engineering in the University of Freiburg. One of these letters conveys how the writer was impressed with art and personality: "He had spent a part of his vacation in Berlin, and on returning home had visited Dresden to see the painting of the Sistine Madonna. "You were right when you were glad that it was my lot first to see the Berlin collection. I need not attempt in words to express my feeling as I stepped into the apartment in the Dresden gallery which is given to the Madonna, to see de Sen Sixti of Raphael. When for the first time my eyes fell upon that wonderful picture, my heart said to myself, Now I know what a true painting is, though I cannot know what it is to be a true painter." Touching personality: "Although our pursuits are so different, in a retrospect of the past I remember among my happiest hours those that I have spent with you. I can account for the fact only on the ground that naturally our tastes are at one, though I, I greatly fear it, by means of bandaged eyes have failed to read the finger board of a better destiny than now awaits me."

A letter, January, 1865, to Stuckenberg from R. Weisser, at Forreston, Illinois, inquired of him whether he would consider the offer of a professorship in German and Hebrew in the Illinois State University, a Lutheran institution in Springfield, Illinois, among whose students had been John Hay and Robert Lincoln, and of whose Board no less a personage than Abraham Lincoln had been a member. This institution must not be confounded with the University of Illinois at Urbana, founded later, in 1867. It is

probable that Illinois State University should have had a greatly enriched history, if Stuckenberg would have come to it. Weisser, a member of the Board, expresses his joy at the fact that Stuckenberg had not become an *Alt-lutheraner* as had Dr. Morris, Dr. Passavant, and Garver, who had visited Germany. In this letter he also asked many questions about the church and the theological situation in Germany, concluding it by speaking of church conditions in Iowa.

"Davenport, your old field of labor, is still *in statu quo*. There is now a German Lutheran congregation occupying the English Lutheran church, but our English interests have gone down. The church at Iowa City is also defunct. The church and college at Des Moines also went by board. I left Des Moines in 1861, and have since labored in this state (Illinois). The church at Des Moines has been revived, and Rev. A. M. Geiger, with whom you are acquainted, has gone there and has fine prospects. There are now two colleges in Iowa, one at Albion, Marshall County, the other at Fairfield. The church in Iowa has made slow progress since you left; however, now it is again looking up and, as times have grown better, we hope something can be done. . . . We want you in the great West."

At this time, Stuckenberg had the good fortune to meet in Berlin Dr. Philip Schaff, who had visited Erie during his pastorate there. The two men were much together. They made many calls on prominent people of the city, in the interest of organizing Sunday school. Only six or eight Sunday schools could be found in Berlin at this time. For many pastors vehemently opposed the Sunday school movement. Germany had good week day religious instruction in its schools. The two men subsequently corresponded considerably with each other; they would meet as representatives at international gatherings, especially at those of the Evangelical Alliance, whose program they ardently supported. One of Stuckenberg's books (1896) is dedicated to Schaff.

- § 3. At the University of Tübingen: Travels with an "Oil Baron"—J. T. Beck, Chr. Palmer, Von Oehler, Maximilian Landerer, and Others—Works on History of the Augsburg Confession—Correspondence with von Polenz—Touring Switzerland

After leaving Berlin, Stuckenberg was engaged by a young American oil prince, whom he had been teaching German, to act as his guide on a tour that included, besides important regions in Germany, parts of Switzerland, Austria, and Italy. The tour was one of scenic grandeur, nature and galleries speaking their eloquent language, to which history added its interpretation. Very interesting is Stuckenberg's description, *The Holy Week at Rome*, in the "Lutheran Observer", 1866: "I saw a fine view of the Pope," he writes upon visiting St. Peter's on Palm Sunday, "but the whole ceremony was rendered too military to make a religious impression on my mind." He visited many churches, climbed many a hill. He loved the Catholic church music. "Such music would make me a Catholic much sooner than the performance of the Pope." Rome both attracted and repelled him. The oil magnate gave expression to his feelings in another way. On their final arrival to Rome, after much travelling, he exclaimed to Stuckenberg: "I am tired of seeing only what is old. Can't you show me some machinery?"

The southern limit of the sojourn was Naples, where the two ascended Vesuvius and entered its crater. They parted at Neuchatel. The young man went to Paris, Stuckenberg to the city of Tübingen to continue his university studies. The journey had cost 824 Thaler, a generous outlay. Stuckenberg received out of this, for his guidance, almost \$200. To him it had meant education, recreation, and increased means for further education.

Stuckenberg arrived at Tübingen in the latter part of April, 1866. The city had a population of nine thousand. Of the students attending the University, three hundred were foreigners. The name Tübingen suggests to many people the name of the *Tübinger Schule*, founded by Fer-



dinand Baur, who applied Hegelian dialectics to the history of Christianity, only to be refuted by his own pupil, Albrecht Ritschl. It also conjures up the name of David Friedrich Strauss, whose rationalistic *Leben Jesu* produced an earthquake in Christendom. In place of men of these types, there were now professors in Tübingen who ranked among the most evangelical in Germany. There was Christian Palmer, well known through his liturgics and homiletics; Gustav v. Oehler, professor of Old Testament Exegesis; Maximilian Landerer, professor of Church History; and especially Johann Tobias Beck, professor in systematic theology. To the honor of Baur be it said that he desired Beck on the faculty because of his scientific ability, though the two were pretty much polar opposites in theology.

Württemberg was naturally dominated by Tübingen. It sheltered an orthodoxy of a gentle kind. Its church architecture was simple, and its church bells comparatively few. It laid no stress on grand altar services and for many years did not ordain its ministers, simply installing them as they were graduated from the University. It is well to remember this atmosphere of Pietism in which Stuckenberg for a time lived, in seeking to estimate the causes of certain attitudes of mind in his subsequent career.

Beck was the magnet which drew Stuckenberg to Tübingen. The influence of that gifted scholar, Bibliscist as he was, remained with Stuckenberg all his life. Again and again he voiced in public his indebtedness to Beck. His appreciation of his teachers is seen in some of the best articles he contributed to the church magazines. Theologically, Stuckenberg was a disciple of Beck, more than of anybody else.

In Tübingen, with its excellent library, Stuckenberg began a documentary study of the history of the Augsburg Confession and bought much expensive printed source material pertinent to this study, which he brought back to America. He found so much in these sources that differed from the current interpretations in Lutheran circles in

America of the Augsburg Confession, and he was happy to convey the results of his investigation in book form, which will be discussed later.

In the Tübingen period, his life was enriched by forming the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Gaylor, of Reutlingen, close to the University city. Mrs. Gaylor was a sister of Miss Clara Bauer of the Conservatory of Music in Cincinnati. He was often at their home.

He corresponded with von Polenz, whom he six years before learned to know in Halle, and who was in politics, according to his own confession, "more for Prussia than for Austria, but most for Germany." In the *Athenaeum*, May 12, England, von Polenz penned a very fine appreciation of Professor Hupfeld, who died in April that year. He enclosed a copy of the article for Stuckenberg, who, as we have seen, had great respect for this teacher. Von Polenz also requested him to greet his nephew, "the rigid Lutheran" Professor Zezschwitz, if he should go to Erlangen; and Professor Heincke, friend and biographer of Hupfeld, if he should go to Marburg; and Dr. H. W. Thiersch, "a most lovely and upright character", the scientific representative of Irvingianism in Germany, son of the celebrated philologist Friedrich Thiersch, if he were to wind his way to Munich. Von Polenz was Stuckenberg's senior by forty-three years; he complained of lack of sleep, "hindering my work which, next to prayer, is my heartiest source of life."

From America, Stuckenberg hears through letter of July 1, 1866, from his brother, that his parents are well and that his father was talking of going to Indiana. He also learns that the President of the United States and Congress "are still at loggerheads. Congress passed another Friedman's Bureau Bill; and the President, of course, vetoed it; and Congress, immediately upon receiving the veto, passed it over his veto. Postmaster General Dennison and several other cabinet officers have resigned. Seward seems to stick to the President; Johnston is doing all he can to play into the hands of traitors, secretly; he is an old Democrat, and I think, intends to remain one."

Stuckenberg concluded his second period of study in Germany by touring Switzerland. He left Tübingen August 22, traveled by rail for nine hours and by boat to Ragaz. In company with several Tübingen students he went to Tomma Spring, then to Churwalden. He visited Papan, and set out for Lenz. He came to the Bernine range and describes it as an especially fine panorama. He saw it again in 1883. He regarded the region of Engadine as the chief glory of Switzerland. And at any mention in superlative terms about experiences in Switzerland, he would say: "Ah! But can it compare with the view from Piz Languard". In his descriptions of these regions, the words joy, rapture, and sublime abound. Nature was one of his great delights. In the late fall of 1866, he returned to America. He had been absent a year and one-half.

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## CHAPTER XII

### Pastorate in Indianapolis

(January, 1867-April, 1868)

WHILE IN EUROPE, Stuckenberg received a letter from Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer, urging him to accept a call from a projected General Council church in New York city. The letter explained that "our delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod were rejected by the General Synod at Fort Wayne. This has constrained our Pennsylvania Synod to adopt the plan of forming a New General Synod. Rev. Wedekind will, of course, oppose this project. But we want a General Synod more in harmony with our views."

Rev. A. C. Wedekind also wrote to him, six months later, in December, 1866, about the same church, stating that the people of St. Paul's were very anxious to get Stuckenberg as their pastor. "Rev. Geissenhainer has not the disposition of synodical relationship, the church is willing to go with their pastor into any Lutheran Synod."

But New York did not appeal to Stuckenberg, though he had thought that he might spend the winter there to complete his book on the Augsburg Confession. Neither did California appeal to him, though his friend from boyhood, John Everding in San Francisco, urged him to allow his name to be considered for a pastorate there, and though Rev. A. Meyer arrived at Indianapolis, from California, to try to induce him to move to the Pacific. But true to the refusal given in a letter, oral arguments did not change his mind. He also refused to allow his name to be considered as a candidate for his home church in Cincinnati. Indianapolis had been and remained his choice. In January, 1867,



the Lutheran church in this city had tendered him a unanimous call. He accepted, with the provision that he could leave within a few months, if he so desired, and that he should be permitted daily to devote several hours to study and writing.

January 27, 1867, he preached his inaugural sermon in Indianapolis from the text, "I seek not yours, but you," dwelling on the subject *The Preacher's Aim; to Win Souls for Christ*. He was soon given the additional task of supervising the Sunday school. His books arrived, he had bookshelves made, and promptly resumed the work on his volume, started in Tübingen, and began his labors in the congregation.

Socially, he found that the church in Indianapolis was on a higher plane than the church in Erie. It had more educated people and many active young people, and a large choir. He wrote of "three or four quite intelligent German ladies in our church, of whom one is the wife of a former consul to Antwerp and another her daughter." They were friends of his, though their husbands were somewhat indifferent to church work. The consul was a German physician, Dr. Gall. Their home in Indianapolis was distinguished for its rich display of fine paintings and for its musical contribution to the city. The only daughter, Mrs. Rush, was an eminent pianist. She still occupied her parents' home with her husband. Mrs. Gall and Mrs. Rush were noted for culture and were a social power, much interested in their church. The sons of Mrs. Gall, Albert and Edward, were church members.

Dr. Gall was suddenly removed by death. In the funeral sermon delivered by Stuckenberg, the view was expressed that the spirit does not die, that life is a waiting. He pictured the deceased as one whose nature was not seen on the surface, nor at first sight; but intimate acquaintance with him revealed frankness, candor, and an absence of deception; he was generous and helpful. Stuckenberg's outline of this sermon is preserved, though he would sometimes commit a sermon that he had preached, to the flames.

In March he could write: "I have prepared an article for the *Lutheran Quarterly* which has taken considerable time. As a consequence my book has suffered somewhat. My labors are increasing on my hands. Two sermons on Sabbath. Thursday evening lecture, lecture and catechetical class on Saturday, and pastoral visits require much time. Indeed, I am often entirely too busy to do full justice to my various duties. The afflicted in the church I visit quite often. I think I am becoming better adapted to such calls than I was formerly, and I find much joy in consoling the disturbed and afflicted."

Dr. Sprecher, anxious to have him come to Wittenberg College as professor, wrote about the financial difficulties of the institution and expressed hope that Stuckenberg would accept a call from the college church at Springfield, where he, besides preaching, could teach eight to ten hours in the college, which gradually would claim him entirely as professor. Stuckenberg a month later visited Springfield. The proposition was renewed to him, but he felt that his duties were with the Indianapolis church; thus he declined to accept the Ohio call.

His work kept him extremely occupied, preaching, writing, instructing, calling on the sick and on those who, he thought, should belong to church. He had interesting audiences in which not a few persons were members of the Indiana State Legislature. Ex-Governor and Mrs. White were frequently present at his services.

His peace of mind was greatly disturbed during most of the period he stayed in Indianapolis by persistent calls to become pastor of a church in Pittsburgh. These calls started coming almost immediately after his arrival at Indianapolis. Rev. C. L. Ehrenfeld visited Indianapolis in April to induce him to accept the pastorate of a small group of Pittsburgh Lutherans who belonged to the First English Lutheran Church and were desirous of organizing a General Synod church, owing to the disruption which brought on the formation of the General Council. Among those urging him to go to Pittsburgh were prominent ministers, J. A. Brown,

professor at Gettysburg; J. G. Goettman, Allegheny, Pa.; J. B. Helweg, Lancaster, Ohio; and F. W. Conrad, editor of the *Lutheran Observer*.

A second call came to him; but his inclination for Indianapolis was not the only matter that held him back. He foresaw that Pittsburgh would be a storm center in the conflict between the General Synod and the General Council; and he hoped he would soon be teaching at Wittenberg. On November 3, he wrote, however, that he had accepted the call to Pittsburgh. "The struggle was a severe one, but I could not do otherwise. The decision has made me calm. It settles a question which has greatly troubled me all summer and fall."

This was the fifth church that called him after his second leave in Europe. Two other churches also sought his services. Rev. T. Stork asked him to come to Philadelphia to take charge of St. Andrews. The Presbyterian church in Indianapolis, whose popular pastor had just left, added the seventh invitation—to be its pastor.

As stated, he decided for Pittsburgh. But his duties toward Indianapolis made him tarry in this city for several months. His congregation claimed his care. It even wrote a protest to the Pittsburgh church for calling him. He also had religious civic work to attend to. The Y. M. C. A. was helped by him. His Sunday school was large, registering 227 pupils. In October, 1867, he went as a delegate to the Convention of the Pittsburgh Synod at Greenville, Pennsylvania, where he, together with nine other ministers and six laymen, protested the action of that Synod in accepting the Principles of the General Council and leaving the General Synod.

Socially he was claimed by the Bohrs, the Vajens, the Wrights, the Krausses, and others. Mary Gingrich, his betrothed, came to visit Erie, where she remained two months with Mrs. Krauss. She wrote him regularly from Erie about matters of mutual concern. She relates that she had heard Ralph Waldo Emerson lecture in Erie, and about her

visit in Cleveland. Neither he nor Mary were Sunday Puritans; but his brother was. Stuckenberg had to tell his Mary, "Don't answer these letters on Sundays, nor any to my members—for it might cause offence." He respected inward liberty, but did not underrate expediency. He put charity above his own rights. In Indianapolis, as in Erie, he received many gifts at Christmas; a beautiful gown of drab ladies' cloth, lined . . . and faced with black silk. A private party gave him handkerchiefs and socks to the value of fourteen dollars!

His health was good, except for an illness of two months in the summer. Forced to remain home, he worked all the more with the pen. First, on his book on the Augsburg Confession. By June, 1867, he had five chapters of this book ready. By March, 1868, he had sent off to the press nine chapters. There were then three left to write. Second, he wrote and had published anonymously *Ninety-five Theses for the Seventh Semi-Centennial Jubilee of the Reformation with Notes and Appendix*. On March 31, 1868, he reported about two fine notices concerning this pamphlet of 68 pages. They had been printed in the *Lutheran Observer*. It was not graciously received by the press of the General Council, especially *The Lutheran and Missionary*.

Anticipating some of his conclusions arrived at in his book, he published an article, *The Authorship of the Augsburg Confession*, in the "Evangelical Quarterly Review," April, 1867 (pp. 279-290).

An editorial in *The Lutheran and Missionary* assailed it. Stuckenberg replied in the *Lutheran Observer*. Before the matter was allowed to subside, several polemical articles were exchanged by Charles Porterfield Krauth and Stuckenberg. Krauth had written that Stuckenberg "hates" the Confession, and that his writing was a "libel" on it, accusations manifestly unfair. Much of the debate centered about the authorship of the Confession. Stuckenberg claimed that Luther, being at Coburg, had little to do with the authorship, that it was far more the work of Melancthon. Both



Krauth and Stuckenberg argued on the basis of the material available and drew opposite conclusions from the fact that the mail service between Augsburg and Coburg was poor. The Swedish scholar, Sigfrid von Engström, in *Den augsburgska bekännelsen* (1930) maintained, that it is a conspicuous fact that the connection between Coburg and Augsburg on certain occasions was very slow and that Luther "to an endangering degree was kept outside the transactions." This view agrees more with that of Stuckenberg than with that of Krauth. Behind this debate were the respective attitudes of the two American theologians towards confessional creeds, or symbols. Stuckenberg classified Krauth as a "Symbolist", and quoted J. T. Beck's statement, "There is no use in arguing with the symbolists."

From now, Stuckenberg became the recipient of a prominent share of personal discrediting, stirred up by the schism, especially because of his protest at Greenville, in 1867. Some wrote anonymously against him, which he regarded as cowardice, though he in a private letter took notice of Rev. Passavant: "What a nasty fling at me by Passavant." Even his Mary felt the sting, but was glad that "you do not answer them in the same spirit."

A number of lawsuits in regard to synodical membership, split congregations, questions of property and of ownership were started. The contending parties called in their own experts to testify. Salem Hill, an uncle of Dr. W. K. Hill of Carthage College, asked Stuckenberg, in January, 1868, to come to Leechburg, Pa., to preach, expressing the assurance that his sermon would do much good for the cause of the General Synod. Passavant, Laird, Roth, and Ulery, of the General Council, had been there. The majority of the Church council, he wrote, refused any General Synod man permission to preach in the local Lutheran church. Hill would secure the use of the Presbyterian church for Stuckenberg's coming. Stuckenberg visited Leechburg, and later testified at a church trial.

During his stay of fifteen months in Indianapolis he

found no occasion for disturbing the minds of the laity on matters of church controversy. A proof of the devotion of the people in the capital of Indiana is that years after he had left the city, the Lutheran as well as the Presbyterian church, renewed their respective calls to him to be their pastor. He visited the city, and he always loved its people, but he declined both calls. Pittsburgh was to be his new field; and, in point of time, the longest of his pastorates in America.

To indicate what some of his experiences were in Indianapolis, it was necessary to refer to the church schism and the controversy that followed. Our next chapter will treat of this more in detail.

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## CHAPTER XIII

# Ecclesiastical Schism—Controversial Literature

### § 1. Disruption of the General Synod in 1866 and the Formation of the General Council

THE LARGEST CHURCH BODY among the Lutherans in the United States, the General Synod, was the synod in which Stuckenberg had been reared, and of which he was a ministerial member, from the time of his ordination to his demise—forty-five years, supporting it with all his good will, the energy, and learning at his command. It was founded in 1820. When the Civil War broke out, the General Synod embraced twenty-three synods, or more than two-thirds of the Lutheran communicants in our country. The War occasioned the loss of five synods in the South. In 1864, the General Synod admitted, at a synodical meeting, the Franckean Synod, of New York, to membership with the understanding that this synod at its next synodical meeting should adopt the Augsburg Confession “as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God.” The delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and others protested against this action as irregular, retired from the sessions of the General Synod, and were later sustained in this action by the Ministerium. When, in 1866, the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania appeared at the Convention of the General Synod at Fort Wayne, their credentials were refused by the President until the situation was clearly understood. The delegates protested, but after three days the ruling of the President was sustained.

A few weeks later, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania severed its connection with the General Synod and issued a call to all synods and congregations in the United States and Canada, which professed adherence to the Augsburg Confession, to attend in December, 1866, a Convention at Reading, Pennsylvania. At this convention, the General Council was organized, and the *Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity*, by C. P. Krauth, were proposed, and became constitutional law of the General Council, which held its first convention in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in November, 1867. Thirteen synods were represented, but not all united with the General Council; and some of those that united with it soon withdrew. The celebration of the 350th anniversary of the Reformation thus had a lamentable ending in America. However, after fifty years the two bodies reunited in the United Lutheran Church in America, which was formed in 1918.

The schism in 1866-1867 was intended as an acute settlement of a chronic illness. It caused joy—here and there militant rejoicing—but also sadness to both parties. Congregations were split, lawsuits about church property were started, polemics invaded the pulpit and were outdone only by that of the press. Invectives and abuse were inevitable accompaniments. Nor was “diplomacy” neglected. These were the immediate effects. In the years that followed, when the storms had somewhat subsided, comparative peaceful periods intervened, broken by new outbursts of ecclesiastical and theological zeal, seriously affecting larger or smaller areas.

During all this time the General Synod and the General Council were rivals. In 1870, the statistical strength of the two bodies was as follows: The General Synod was comprised of 21 synods, 598 pastors, 1022 churches, and 90,928 communicants. The General Council consisted of 12 synods, 527 pastors, 998 churches and 129,516 communicants, including the new acquisition of the Swedish Augustana Synod, with headquarters at Rock Island, Illinois. The Swedes, however, left the Council before the merger in 1918.



Within these two comparatively large bodies there were two contending synods, both having the same name and both claiming to be the original Pittsburgh Synod. In 1870 the Pittsburg Synod of the General Council had 58 ministers, 103 churches, 8605 communicants. The Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod meanwhile had 17 ministers, 50 churches, and 2800 communicants.

The General Council could point to such experienced members as the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, founded in 1748; and the Ministerium of New York, founded in 1773, seniors to the next oldest aggressive Pittsburgh Synod, founded in 1845, which, however, split in 1867. The majority of the ministers of the General Council knew German, and not a few of them were men of learning. Its shibboleth, unreserved adherence to the Augsburg Confession as explained in the other symbols of the Lutheran Church, was reassuring to those who feared the other group which they identified with the advocacy of "American Lutheranism," "Definite Platform," "New Measures," even if this group did not line up on the platform of Samuel Schmucker.

In course of time, the General Council made the Declaration of Four Points (1869), interpreting them later by the Galesburg Rules (1875): that Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only; and exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right. This was rigid conservatism. The General Synod continued the practice, as before, of fraternizing also with other church bodies than Lutheran, giving less heed to nonessential doctrines.

The Pittsburgh Synod, we have noticed, was split in 1867, 37 pastors and 25 delegates voting for the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Polity" of the General Council. But 13 pastors, among whom was Stuckenberg, and 8 laymen objected, believing these principles to be in conflict with the doctrinal position of the General Synod. They begged "leave to withdraw from the Convention of the Synod." Stuckenberg seems to have been the author of the declaration or petition published in the Minutes (p. 47 of

the Pittsburgh Synod, 1867). The petition was referred to a committee, which later reported as its proposal: "It is impossible to grant the request of the petitioners." This report was signed by Gottlieb Bassler, W. A. Passavant, Samuel Laird, and three laymen.

Pending the motion *not* to grant the petition just mentioned, permission was given the signers to withdraw the petition, and meet for consultation. They returned and presented the same paper with the words "beg to withdraw" stricken out. The petition had now become a declaration of withdrawal. The signers thereupon held an informal meeting and resolved to meet at Worthington, Pennsylvania, on December 4, 1867. Stuckenberg closed it with prayer.

This minority party of the Pittsburgh Synod met in adjourned session at the set date in December, in Worthington. They were eleven pastors, ten lay delegates and represented 2270 church members. The meeting confirmed its action taken at Greenville, and considered itself in duty bound to regard itself as the original Pittsburgh Synod, true to the constitution of the General Synod. A committee of three pastors, John G. Goettman, Saml. B. Barnitz, and Stuckenberg was appointed to prepare a "Pastoral Address." This Address was prepared. It reviewed briefly the recent events pertaining to the schism, rejected the "Fundamental Principles of Faith," and objected to adherence to the symbolical books (Book of Concord). Such adherence would burden the conscience, it was explained.<sup>6</sup> It also set forth different views held in the Lutheran church concerning baptismal regeneration, real presence, oral manducation, private absolution, preferring the more liberal interpretation of these views. It finally stressed, in Reformed fashion, that the Lord's Day is "divinely instituted." The Pastoral Address was printed for general distribution.

In May, 1868, Stuckenberg having moved to Pittsburgh, was elected Pittsburgh delegate to the General Synod meeting at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The minutes show that

he was a member of many committees reporting on the State of the Church, Foreign Correspondence, Church Paper, Hymnal, World Evangelical Alliance. He preached on John 6:54 in the First Lutheran church, which was crowded to its utmost capacity. At this meeting and through Stuckenberg's efforts, Professor and Mrs. Tholuck, of Halle, and Professor Beck, of Tübingen, were made life members of the Home Missionary Society. Everybody seemed to know, he reported, that he was the author of the *Ninety-Five Theses*.

## §2. Stuckenberg's Ninety-Five Theses—Their Reception

The General Synod decided to celebrate "the year now passing as a Jubilee unto the Lord. . . . The year commencing on the 31st of October, 1867, and ending on the 31st of October, 1868, is the seventh Semi-Centennial year since the Reformation." Stuckenberg's published contributions to the Jubilee, were, first, his *Ninety-five Theses*, of sixty-eight pages, its preface being dated October 31, 1867; and second, his *History of the Augsburg Confession*, whose preface was dated October 2, 1868. The Theses show the Protestant relation between creeds and Scriptures, emphasize Justification by Faith, the general priesthood of believers, and criticize the Book of Concord, if regarded as juridically binding. They laud the basis of the General Synod, stress the need for revivals, "but they should be much more Scriptural and less fanatical than much that is called revival in our day." They desire that the General Synod place itself into more intimate relation to the Lutheran church of Germany and appropriate more of its spiritual life and theological lore. The mission of the Lutheran church in America, they go on to say, should be to unite German depth and thoroughness in Scriptural knowledge and theology with American zeal and energy in practical life, to counteract the extremes of Puritanism and Fanaticism. The booklet closes with an Appendix of four pages, first stating the eleven "Fundamental Principles of Faith," accepted by the General Council as "fundamental and of

necessity pre-supposed in any genuine Union of Evangelical Lutheran Synods;" and, second, rejecting them as making human authority unconditionally binding.

The author did not reveal his name. The publisher of the booklet was T. Newton Kurtz, Baltimore.

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As to the reception with which these Theses met, the *Lutheran Observer* naturally favored them. R. Weiser in the *American Lutheran*, Selinsgrove, enthusiastically called them a "dead shot" unequalled since 1517. The associate editor of the *Independent*, New York, spoke of them in very commendatory terms.

But the *Lutheran and Missionary*, April 2 and 30, 1868, commented derisively on them, referring to the author as a "bold" and a "brave pamphleteer," "our wise theologian," and to the booklet as a "wise pamphlet." It makes out a receipt to Weiser for his "dead shot" and explains the admiration of the editor of the *Lutheran Observer* for the pamphlet because he is a "non-theologian." "The whole pamphlet is full of sophistry and its strongest conclusions rest on premises that are utterly without foundation . . . devoting many pages to undermine the authority of the Confessions. . . . Every Lutheran will be so disgusted with the unfairness, sophistry and partisan spirit of the pamphlet . . . of the Know-Nothing or American school." Thus, the acknowledgment of the General Council press.

*The Lutheran Standard*, June 15, Columbus, Ohio, organ of the Joint Synod of Ohio, which even doubted the orthodoxy of the General Council, came to the aid of the *Lutheran and Missionary*, calling the author the "new Luther" who is "much in fog about the symbols . . . the new reformer of the 19th century." It avers that a Lutheran is taught by the Holy Spirit, and that the Lutheran church can "admit no qualified subscription to her symbols because she cannot confess agreement and consequently fellowship with those who deny what she finds in the clear Scripture and what she is therefore bound to maintain for the Lord's sake and for the sake of the souls which he purchased."



Pathetically naive, as the deliverances of this kind were, they made no revisionistic impression, religiously or intellectually, on Stuckenberg. They represented a sub-evangelical thinking. Stuckenberg was not a literalist in exegeting either the Bible or the Confessions. For it was as important for him as for men of recent times to study Luther and the Reformation, and find out what positively lay behind the confessions. Even a conservative like E. Schmauk rightly sensed that the confessions were not "enough". It was worth while to go deeper, to see what *Luther* had said in his many writings.

A welcome light is reflected upon this and similar situations by Bishop Gustav Aulén, until recently professor of systematic theology in the University of Lund, Sweden. Aulén calls attention to the fact that mostly all the confessions were written for attack or defense, in a state of war; but a state of war is not normal. Aulén and his school look for the *intentio* in the symbols rather than to insist on the letter. He grants, indeed, that confessions can render aid in interpreting Scriptures, but holds that the New Testament is *norma normans* in the relation existing between Scripture and creed.

Stuckenberg's *Theses* made, of course, no claims to inerrancy. His Biblicistic position—the influence of J. T. Beck—made him almost overlook for the time being the fact that, in Lutheran theology, legitimation can not be Biblicistic, and that tradition must not be underrated. He feared tradition, beholding Rome in it. Now, it is true that Rome binds tradition to external, legalistic, ecclesiastical authority, producing a caricature. But there is also a warrantable tradition. The New Testament is not the Word, but it is, as the great Danish church historian, V. Ammundsen says, "the incomparable document about the Word." The Word is Jesus Christ Himself. This Word (*logos*) reveals the heart of the Father, who fellowships with sinners by forgiving them. The New Testament contains the primary Word of Testimony. It is fundamental and has the character of regulative principle. What later grows forth from

it, must harmonize with that conception of God and that fundamental view of the Christian relationship with God, which carries the impress of Christ's deeds and receives testimony in the New Testament. The danger of Biblicism, to make the Bible legalistic, is as great as is the danger of the "symbolist" to make the confessions legalistic, as Aulén says. However, Stuckenberg soon modified his stricter Biblicism of 1867, becoming more evangelical.<sup>8</sup>

§ 3. His First Major Work: History of the Augsburg Confession—Attacks Repelled

In "The Evangelical Quarterly Review", January 1867, (Gettysburg) appeared a review of twenty-six pages, *Dr. Shedd's History of Christian Doctrine*. The author was Charles P. Krauth. Shedd had written about the Augsburg Confession. Krauth accused him of "lack of a thorough and independent knowledge" of the Lutheran church; he claimed Shedd was theologically and virtually an "American Lutheran", though nominally a Congregationalist. Ostensibly directed against Shedd, the review was really meant for the "American Lutherans". It stated that Luther approved the Augsburg Confession, May 15, 1530, one month previous to the Emperor's entry to Augsburg. The Confession was signed June 23. "The material labor on the Augsburg Confession was finished and approved by Luther more than a month before the Diet met."

Stuckenberg found that these statements of Krauth could not remain unchallenged. He had been working on his book, *The Augsburg Confession*, for a long time, and was thoroughly familiar with the then available source material. He accordingly wrote the article already referred to, *The Authorship of the Augsburg Confession*. It claimed that Melanchthon made use of many sources in writing the Confession. But Luther did not see the body of the final Confession, and had no hand in its formulation. In fact, he was purposely excluded from participating in the formulation of it. Letters from Melanchthon to Luther at Coburg were purposely withheld.

This was not at all to Krauth's liking, who rebuked Stuckenberg in *The Lutheran* (May 2, 9, 16, 23). Stuckenberg's article, we hear, was a "libel", it repeated Rückerts "atrocious insinuation"; Stuckenberg, said Krauth, was "grievously in ignorance" of the real history of the Confession; he was guilty of "palpable invention." Stuckenberg replied to this, in three issues of the "Lutheran Observer", the title of this series of articles being *The Reviewer Reviewed: Or Luther's Relation to the Augsburg Confession*. They were calm and dispassionate, and to the point.

Krauth came back with a fifth installment, accusing Stuckenberg of ignorance of German, because he had translated *daneben*—"in the margin"; and claimed that Luther had been asked to write his remarks in the margin of the draft of the Confession sent to him. Krauth translated it "at the same time" and bluntly asserted that Stuckenberg's "memory of facts was not as good as the recollection of jokes. His articles have all the venom of the serpent with none of its cunning, and the weakness of the dove without the least bit of innocence." Krauth's fifth installment centered on the translation of *daneben*. It presented uncritically several quotations from Polyglot and bilingual dictionaries, from the English Bible and Luther's Bible; and it adduced passages from Greek, French, Hebrew, and Latin, to prove that his own translation was right and Stuckenberg's wrong. For good measure it introduced a quotation from Grimm, in which *daneben* meant "at the same time." Any boy, not even German, but with knowledge of the use of a dictionary, could correct Stuckenberg, was Krauth's judgment. Stuckenberg, we are told, confounded the prepositional use of *daneben* with the adverbial. "One of two conclusions seems irresistible; either Mr. Stuckenberg is not the German scholar he assumes to be and has not a sufficient accurate knowledge of the language to be a competent witness of the meaning of documents in it, or his partisan blindness is such as to make him entirely unreliable. There is no way to a third theory, except by com-

binning the first two." Thus spoke the one who felt qualified to administer a philologic rebuke.

Before the bar of Krauth, Stuckenberg, thus, was entirely disqualified as a scholar. His two visits to Germany were flippantly compared to "Puss went over the continent and, when she came back home, all she could say was mew." The article also accused the *Lutheran Observer*: "It covers up . . . with its characteristic want of truthfulness."

It was a passionate article.

One month later, October 18, 1867, Stuckenberg retorted with "*A Review of C. P. K.*", which closed this particular debate for 1867. The article was brief and dignified.

Within one year of this clash, each of the opponents published a book on the Augsburg Confession. Krauth's was of 91 pages. Its title was *The Augsburg Confession*. The latter part of this booklet was mainly a repetition of what the author had advanced against the views of Stuckenberg. Stuckenberg's large volume bore the title *The History of the Augsburg Confession: From Its Origin till the Adoption of the Formula of Concord*. Its preface was dated October, 1868. It consisted of xx+335 pages and was published by the Lutheran Board of Publication, Philadelphia, with author's copyright.

Seventy years have passed since the *daneben* skirmish took place, which occasioned that men, not friendly to Stuckenberg, thought they could ridicule him as the man of "*daneben* fame." But Philology has justified Stuckenberg in his contention.

1) On March 25, 1918, Dr. Karl J. Grimm, of Gettysburg College, a scholar whose philological acumen is unquestioned, wrote as follows to Mrs. Stuckenberg: "*Daneben* in the passage referred to is rightly interpreted by the rendering of Kolde in the *Realencyclopädie*, 3d edition, vol. II, p. 244, l. 45, and in his *Historische Einleitung in d. symbolischen Bücher*. (Gütersloh, 1907, Sonderdruck aus d. 10 Aufl.) viii; also Köstlin-Kawerau, *Luther*, 5th edition, 1903, vol. II, p. 204 ("*notieren*"). It is true that *daneben* may mean *at the same time* (Krauth's rendering), and it



is used by Luther sometimes in this sense, but in the passage under dispute, Dr. Stuckenberg gives the proper meaning, Dr. Krauth is wrong."

2) As to the Augsburg Confession, no one any longer questions that Melanchthon was its author. His tombstone rightly bears the inscription *Autor Confessionis Augustanae*. Dr. Otto Kirn says the Confession is *im wesentlichen Melanchthons Werk*. The document that Luther saw at Coburg differed very much from the Confession as signed at Augsburg. Luther never saw the Confession in its final form until after it had been read at the Diet (Hans von Schubert, *Luther auf Koburg, Luther Jahrbuch*, 1930).

While at Coburg, Luther wrote what has been called *Lutheri Augustana*. It is his *Vermahnung*, addressed to the entire clergy gathered at Augsburg. The manuscript was in the hands of the Wittenberg printers, May 12. On June 7, about 500 copies arrived at Augsburg. It is the counterpart to the first form of the Confession which he saw. Some of the *Vermahnung* was incorporated in the second part of it, dealing with abuses. In fact, it is a powerful supplement to the Augsburg Confession, a book with a great message for all times (l. c. 121).

3) As to correspondence, Jonas wrote to Luther that some of his letters must have been lost. Melanchthon, too, claimed he had written often. Luther said he did not know why he had been left behind at Coburg. The sources from 1530 are, however, incomplete for giving an exact story of the events that transpired there, though much material has been discovered since 1869.

Stuckenberg had been working two and one-half years at his *History of the Augsburg Confession*. He had begun to work upon it in Germany, pursuing it in Indianapolis and completing it in Pittsburgh. It was the first scientific history of this Confession in the English language. In 1897, the 400th anniversary of Melanchthon's birth, it was published in a new edition. The only change Stuckenberg made, he called attention to in the Preface. In the first edition he held that Luther's indignation at not receiving

letters was due to their being withheld. In the new edition he states that it cannot be "proved" that they were withheld.

He could not know that the Chancery of Frederick the Wise thought nothing of withholding letters sent to and by Luther, that some of these letters underwent changes and deletions, in the interest of peace. Heinrich Böhmer has conclusively proven that this frequently happened. That this practice was in use in the Coburg correspondence is possible, though hardly probable.

Stuckenberg's *History* was very scholarly for its times. It used such primary and secondary sources as: works of Karl Eduard Förstemann, David Chyträus, C. A. Salig, Ernst S. Cyprian, George G. Weber, Planck, Heppe; and collections like *Corpus Reformatorum*. It claimed that the Confession was a confession, and not a law or a constitution. It is not the *goal* itself; and no human document, however venerable, can be the goal in the Protestant Church. While claiming it centered about the Bible, it does not, however, quite adequately bring out that Luther contended for the *religious* evaluation of the Bible, for what Luther called Gospel over against Canon Law binding upon the conscience of man.

The work was commended by the *Lutheran Observer*, *Lutherischer Kirchenfreund*, *New York Independent*, *American Lutheran*, *Pittsburgh Chronicle*, *Pittsburgh Gazette*, *Lutheran and Visitor*. However, the *Lutheran and Missionary* claimed that the author's contentions had been duly answered (by Krauth), and "if the author had been apt to learn, this volume would never have appeared with its convincing and painful evidence that he is apt to teach." It claims that the author had spent too short a time on the book. He should have given years to it. The book can do nothing but spread error. Thus the verdict of the *Lutheran and Missionary*.

This book was a scholarly contribution, a product of careful research. Stuckenberg could have shared the sentiments later expressed, in 1925, by Denmark's Bishop V.

Ammundsen, that the Augsburg Confession was a "conservative presentation of Luther's doctrine," and that this "Confession practically became just as binding as the Gospel." Stuckenberg denied priority rights to the Formula of Concord in interpreting the Augustana. In this respect, he would have agreed with J. P. Bang, of Copenhagen, who grants that the Formula saved Lutheran Christianity from dissolution in an age of strife. But, "if one takes his position on another and more correct conception of the fundamental relation between faith and doctrine, he will not be able to regard it as suited for being set up as a confessional writing." Stuckenberg would also have agreed with Professor W. Rudin, in Sweden, who at the *Kyrkomöte* in 1893, stated that he had always maintained an attitude of deep piety towards the symbolical books, but had, at the same time, regarded some of them as of secondary importance. He was glad that in doubtful cases he could revert from them to the Augsburg Confession! The University of Upsala, too, felt that abiding by the Augsburg Confession alone would protect against schism. Lutheran orthodoxy was to blame for the antagonism between Lutherans and Reformed, he said.

The University of Lund rather favored the Book of Concord. Pehr Eklund was afraid that if this book would be voted down, the Catechism would suffer: he regarded the Catechism as the most excellent portion of the entire Book of Concord. Rev. Fredrik Fehr said, he could not unite in ascribing to any symbolic books of the Lutheran Church the significance of a law book with decisions juridically binding for preaching. The Augsburg Confession was a more satisfactory expression of the points of view advocated by Lutherans than was the Book of Concord in its entirety.

When the vote was taken, thirty votes were cast for and twenty-eight against retaining all the symbols. But the entire development in Sweden since 1893 has turned toward a more liberal outlook. In 1903, the ministerial vow was

changed, eliminating what had been regarded as juridically binding.

In evaluating Stuckenberg's views on confessional subscription, the ideas expressed by the Scandinavian scholars mentioned above, including Gustav Aulén, quoted elsewhere, are profitable for comparison with those of Stuckenberg. These views he never changed during his entire life, in the last ten years of which he fortified them by surveying the confessional status of leading theologians in Germany.

In the meantime, he continued to practice them with increased zeal in his new charge, in Pittsburgh.



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## CHAPTER XIV

# Pastorate in Pittsburgh

(1868-1873)

### § 1. Maintaining the Pre-Schism Basis of the General Synod

REV. C. L. EHRENFELD had visited Stuckenberg in Indianapolis in behalf of seceding members from the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh, endeavoring to have him accept a call from this group which was about to organize as a church. The secession was due to the synodical schism and the changed Constitution of their local church. At Ehrenfeld's return, with no definite answer from the Indianapolis pastor, a letter, April 10, 1867, was drafted, signed by 22 persons and sent to him, urging his acceptance. A few weeks later a letter, more specific in content and signed by 39 persons, followed, repeating the call. Of letters from interested ministers urging him to accept the new charge, mention has been made before. Those from President J. A. Brown, of Gettysburg Seminary, and F. W. Conrad, editor of the "Lutheran Observer" especially pleaded with him to conserve the ideals of the General Synod in Pittsburgh by taking hold of the work of the church. Stuckenberg accepted, after much deliberation.

Pittsburgh was not new to Stuckenberg. He had spent a part of his childhood there. There were several people in this city who knew his father, from the time he lived there. They were glad to meet the minister whom they had known as a child. Counting its suburbs, it had, following

statistics from 1867, a Protestant population of 120,516; and the claimed Roman Catholic population was 42,350. The total number of Protestant churches were 123, of Catholics 17. The Methodists were leading with 30 churches, the Presbyterians followed with 22, then came the United Presbyterians with 15, the Baptists with 13, the Episcopalians with 10 churches. The Lutherans had 8: First Lutheran was served by Samuel Laird; First German, by J. A. F. W. Müller; Second German, by G. A. Wenzel; First English (Allegheny), by J. G. Goettman; First German (Allegheny), by F. Scheidt; Grace English, by H. W. Roth; First German, by F. A. Herzberger; East Liberty, by J. J. Kucher—the last three churches being in Birmingham. Laird's church had 250 members, Müller's 700, Scheidt's 600, Herzberger's 540. The number of Protestants who did not attend church service was set at 73,000. The number of liquor houses was 613, or 5 to one church.

Stuckenberg arrived at Pittsburg, in April, 1868. Immediately the new organization was formed with thirty members. A suitable church, the former Plymouth Congregational church on Ninth Street, near the Allegheny bridge, was bought and paid for (\$15,000). The salary of the pastor was stipulated: \$2,500 a year and the use of two rooms. The organization adopted the name of Messiah Evangelical Lutheran Church. The little band of original members had passed through a bitter struggle in defense of their conviction and in their effort to maintain their right in the church which they had to leave. Since they had not deviated from the constitution of the church, they disputed in courts, but lost. The church which they left, had had Dr. Passavant and Dr. Krauth as pastors; it accepted their counsel and that of H. W. Roth, of "Grace" English Lutheran Church (Birmingham) in the lawsuit.

Dr. Passavant was especially displeased in anticipating Stuckenberg's coming. He wrote: "I am about exhausted with the pressure of church troubles, but God sustains me wonderfully. . . . Dr. S[tuckenberg] was here on Sunday and is reported to have preached 'two splendid sermons' in

the Third Presbyterian church, whose pastor was absent. The 'holy' people from our church were there . . . but the congregation in our church was as good as before. What a peculiar mercy from God that this central church was saved to the synod and to truth."

Dr. Laird, who had come to the city in 1867, being less emotional, maintained grave reserve. Stuckenberg received no other sign of recognition of his presence than a touch of his hat when they chanced to approach each other on the street. Stuckenberg observed his part in the solemn comedy, in a spirit of droll humor, returning the greeting with the same impersonal dignity.

The attempt of the minority members of the First Church to get possession of the church building by locking the door to prevent the congregation from having worship, was only a link in a long chain of similar attempts which the history of almost every denomination records. The failure of the minority group to obtain what it desired, added nothing to the prestige of the new church, in the eyes of the majority. Defeat in court is often interpreted as a moral defeat, and not as a legal decision of a court which does not pass opinion on sin or Christian morality, but on the legality or illegality of action. There is no reason why the two groups could not have shared the same church building, assembling at different hours. Initial tension and embarrassment might have gradually given way to calmer states of mind. But imagined religious difficulties would have prevented this. As long as the un-Protestant conception maintains that public worship is the only or the supreme manifestation of Christian *Koinonia*; that church organizations possess something more than what every believer has; that certain times and places are more sacred than other—such a twofold use of the building would be considered religiously objectionable. Politically, of course, such a plan might not have been expedient, since it could have led to the absorption of one party by the other. Each party saw its "faith" attacked by the other party. And neither party, perhaps, certainly not that of the spirit of Passa-

vant, could follow Stuckenberg in disengaging itself from the intellectual conception of faith. Both groups looked upon each other as a sower of discord and division.

The Messiah church regarded itself as an antidote to exclusive, symbolical and ritualistic tendencies. It adopted the Bible as the only authority in matters of Christian faith and practice, and the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of Scripture. It resolved that it would "heartily welcome as Christian brethren all who sincerely adopt and practice the doctrine of the Gospel, which Christ and His apostles made the condition of fellowship." It adopted the motto "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

Stuckenberg's services were well attended. His letters, telling about his labors are humble and express gratitude to God. He was very busy: "There is not rest here—surely not for me. I must finish my book; I am also expected to write an article for a Jubilee Memorial. . . . I am expected to start a German paper, preach superior sermons, visit everybody all the time and build up a large congregation on short notice; I am expected to visit various charges in our synod, to preach and to lecture; I am expected to be very active in the Young Men's Christian Association and in other societies. . . . Work is increasing." Thus, from a letter in June, shortly after he had arrived. And in December:

"Cold without—and sometimes cheerless within, the outer but a picture of that within. I am in life's prime. This is the period for work. Now or never. This is the day for me, and I must work the works of Him that sent me. I am not accomplishing enough. That makes me gloomy at times. Yet I am in the sphere of duty and must be content. Contentment with godliness is great gain."

Then a wealth of great music rushes to his soul: "I heard Ole Bull Friday evening. Such a treat! I never knew till then what is in a violin. I never heard his equal in Europe. His performance created in me a more intense desire to



excel in my sphere. But I pray earnestly that God will sanctify my ambition."

We have discussed his book, the *History of the Augsburg Confession*. Before the year closed, he had corrected the proof of it, written the Introduction and Appendix. "The reliability of my statements I know too well to have fears. Yet the attacks will be severe."

In his congregation, to which an increasing number of strangers came, he labored with a singularly devoted group, solicitous to assist him in all his plans for the prosperity and upbuilding of the church. However, all but a very few lived far from the church, despite its central position. The Newmeyer family and others lived in Swissvale; the Hugus' in East Liberty; the Scully's and Petries in Chartiers. And on the Allegheny side of the river, charter members were scattered at equal distances. Most of the Sunday school and other workers came from Allegheny. Many members along both rivers could manage no more, with the best intentions, than to go to church once a Sunday in those days. Gradually, valuable new members were secured.

The older members and friends tried to make up for personal work by means of exceptional generosity in financial help for all of the plans of the pastor. A superior lending library was purchased in addition to a carefully chosen Sunday school library of 900 volumes. Both were much appreciated. The former was a gift from a friend of the church. The latter, selected by the pastor, was much used by the members of the church; for the city was not provided with a free lending library.

Besides the usual provision of Sunday school papers for pupils, the representative of each German family in the Sunday school received a weekly German church paper for the parents. The Sunday school was trained to interest in supporting the general objects of the church missions, home and foreign, the orphan's home and the support of a young man studying for the ministry. The church assumed all support of the Sunday school, in a liberal way.

In the Church Council there were such tried men of deep piety as A. S. Getty, Paul Hugus, James and John B. Chalmers, R. H. Boggs, John Stulen, A. G. Negley, Josiah Reamer, Howard D. Little, George Hubley. Besides these, a noble group of young men labored with him: Arch and David Bricker, John Little, Albert Hamilton, and William Newmeyer, editor of a daily paper; also Henry Buhl, J. S. Scully. Among women who devoted much of their time to the church were Mrs. Chalmers, Caroline and Christiana Conrad, B. Schaarschmidt, Mrs. M. Newcomer, daughter of Mr. Gebhart, in Dayton, Ohio. John Graff and William Pore, faithful in attendance, were generous of time as well as of money in behalf of various interests of the church.

The longest diameter of the parish was thirty miles. It was necessary for many of the members to use the steam cars in order to reach the church; others used horse cars or their own carriage. In 1872, the church had a membership of 160 persons. However, this does not represent the size of the congregation that assembled to hear Stuckenberg every Sunday. Many others attended, representing men in the most varied callings of life and living in different parts of the city. The Sunday school had 300 pupils.

In January, 1872, the Messiah church published a Manual, eighteen pages, stating the names of the members on various church committees, and furnishing a directory of every church member. It gives a brief history of the church.

This church was a working church. It had two services every Sunday, and Sunday school met at two in the afternoon. Prayer meeting was held Wednesday evenings, when the pastor would lead. This was followed by a teacher's meeting to study the Sunday school lesson and transact business of the Sunday school. The Ladies' Aid held prayer meeting on Monday evenings. The Women's Christian Association of the church met on the first Friday of every month. Council meetings were held monthly. The finances of the church were in excellent condition. At the close of Stuckenberg's second year, there was a surplus of \$300 in

the treasury. This was presented to Stuckenberg, in addition to his salary.

In all the generosity relating to Messiah Church, loyalty to the memory of a mother to whom the church had been one of her most cherished objects, was a prominent element. The principal benefactor among her children and relatives was her eldest son, John Graff. It was he who had bought the church edifice and presented it to the congregation, he, too, furnished the funds for the two libraries and was ever ready to help. In July, 1869, the congregation sustained a severe loss in the death of his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Lobengier Graff, widow of Henry Graff. Stuckenberg preached at her funeral and wrote her obituary in the *Lutheran Observer*. She had come to Pittsburgh in 1844, had been a widow for fourteen years, at her death. The Graff Professorship of Homiletics in Gettysburg Theological Seminary resulted from the successful movement which she inaugurated to endow a chair of Homiletics. She subscribed \$5,000 to this chair, her children added \$8,500.

The death of Mrs. Graff was felt as a blow to the congregation. But it spurred it on toward greater efforts.

§ 2. Delegate to Synods—Spokesman for the Church Publication Society—The *Kirchenfreund*—Living Gospel, not Creed

Elected by the minority at Worthington to attend the convention of the General Synod, in 1868, at Harrisburg, Stuckenberg appeared before this body and was recognized as delegate from the "original Pittsburgh Synod." His activeness at this meeting has been described before.

In May, 1869, he was again delegate of the Pittsburgh Synod, this time to the Convention of the General Synod in Washington, D. C. He was here a member of a committee of nine, on Dr. S. S. Schmucker's "Manifesto of the General Synod"; and of a committee of five on the German church paper. He was appointed delegate (alternate, but made the visit) to the United Presbyterian Church, and was continued as a member of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence. Several reports of his are on the minutes of



the General Synod for 1869. These minutes also contain a report of the proceedings of the Publication Society, in which the following is said about his recently published book. It is "regarded by competent judges as the most thorough, complete and reliable history of the Augsburg Confession, yet published [in English], a book of rare interest to our church."

During this meeting, Stuckenberg delivered an address before the Historical Society of the Lutheran Church concerning its special mission, its principles and intellectual resources. The address states that this Society had been organized because it was felt that there was a special work for it to do, which could not be done by any other existing association. It was the "preacher" of the General Synod, declaring its principles to the church and the world. It was aiding the minister by instructing and assisting him to instruct the people. Its special aim was to make these principles familiar to all, through publishing and spreading pertinent literature. While the General Synod had much in common with other evangelical churches, it nevertheless was occupying a position that made it distinct and peculiar, adhering strictly to the Word, as did Luther. The Reformation had restored the Gospel and taught men how to interpret the Bible by the Gospel. This interpretation goes on, he said. A church that regards the doctrinal results of the Reformation as unchangeable possession, is a Reformed church. But the church must be reformatory, must not cling blindly to traditional doctrine, but live in the reformatory spirit and principles of the Reformation. Non-essentials in creed were not binding in the Presbyterian church, and they should not be more so in the Lutheran. There should be liberty in non-fundamentals, and, therefore, opposition to Orthodoxy, which makes faith consist in an intellectual assent to dogmas, mathematically fixed and frozen into a rigid mass. The General Synod was advocating faith behind the head and the heart, giving creeds their true value by destroying their fictitious authority. The General Synod was rejecting forms and cere-



monies as valuable for their own sake. They are valuable only so far as they convey spirit and truth. The Synod also opposed worship of the letter, "sentimental cant" about the Union of all Christians: "For the Church has always been one, and can never be otherwise. This unity is spiritual, not visible."

To these very fine evangelical statements he added, as he alluded to revivals, that the General Synod wants life, but not artificial excitement. It wants to make central and primary what Christ and His apostles made such. It needs books that give an exposition of this basis, and "a review, a monthly in English, German, and Scandinavian languages, which are true to these principles." He pointed to the "vast treasures of German science and literature" as sources to draw from. No other church, said he, was so rich in literature as that of Germany. It was a mine in which all denominations have quarried, and "some have therefore accumulated more wealth than our church in our country. We have impoverished ourselves by neglecting that mine." He had met in German universities Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians from America, but not one who was connected with the General Synod or the General Council! There should be no fear of rationalism on the one hand, and symbolism on the other. Men like Ehrenfeuchter, Beck, Tholuck, Julius Mueller, Nitzsch, Twesten, Dorner—his teachers—and many others, he said, were in agreement with the principles of the General Synod. "Can we not wed the spiritual theology of Germany to American enterprise and energy?"

No earlier document has summarized Stuckenberg's theological position as well as this. It was published in *The Evangelical Quarterly Review* (1869, pp. 472-474). It is significant that the Biblicism that he here advocated against symbolism held that the Bible must always be interpreted anew by what Luther called the Gospel. This position is a most happy one, warrantable from every point of view in Reformation theology, not necessarily rejecting the creeds,

but subjecting them all to the Gospel and thus divesting them of undue authority.

At the General Synod Convention, in 1871, at Dayton, Ohio, Stuckenberg was again a delegate from the Pittsburgh Synod. He again served on various committees. This time he was elected to go as a delegate to the German Reformed General Synod.

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The General Synod minutes of 1869 and 1871 show that Stuckenberg, more than anybody else, took the initiative in launching *Der Lutherische Kirchenfreund*. Letters confirm this. The church which he served in Indianapolis had in 1867 petitioned the General Synod to found a German paper. The Synod, acting on the petition, appointed a committee to report on it, Stuckenberg being the chairman. The report was made. The paper was to be edited for the present by Rev. Severingshaus and Henden. Henry Stuckenberg, his brother, would probably attend to the subscription list. It should be published in Dayton or Indianapolis, or preferably in Pittsburgh.

The first number of "Kirchenfreund" was issued in Indianapolis, December 24, 1868. It presented Stuckenberg's picture. Though he did not formally edit this paper, his guidance was sought and given, and he remained the chairman of the German Board of Publication for several years. Rev. F. W. Conrad, of Philadelphia, at first needlessly feared it as a competitor. In the first half year it had 1100 subscribers. In 1871 it had a debt of \$808, which the General Synod assumed and paid. The second issue of this paper stated Stuckenberg's theological position, agreeing with that of the Synod. It protested against Romish tendencies and advocated the principle of the all sufficiency of Scriptures. In "Kirchenfreund", of March 22, 1869, he presented an article, *Lehre und Leben*, stressing that Scripture united both doctrine and life, but that doctrine had to show itself in life. He quoted Luther's statement, that the sun *ought* not to shine, for it shines; a good tree *ought* not to bear good fruit, for it bears good fruit. His ethics was

not imperative, but indicative. Christ Himself, he asserted, is the substance of the new life. Dr. Sprecher sent him a letter heartily endorsing his position.

Stuckenberg also participated in the meetings of the Pittsburgh Synod; for example, in the fall of 1869 at Monongahela. The minutes show that he was on the Board which examined ministers for ordination. He was also a member of the Board of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, from October, 1869, to October, 1872, as representative from the Pittsburgh Synod.

Professor J. A. Brown repeatedly solicited him for articles for his *Lutheran Quarterly Review*. F. W. Conrad, who in July, 1869, became sole editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, taxed his patience and vigor more than once, especially after 1872, when he wanted a separate contribution every two weeks from him. Stuckenberg complied, but his work was much hampered by the difficulty of securing the necessary material. The *Review* could pay for only one German magazine!

### § 3. In the Fire of Controversy—Echoes from Erie—Marriage

The year 1868-1869 was the most trying year in Stuckenberg's entire career, and a year of disintegration in the Lutheran Church. He was scarcely thirty-three when he accepted the call to Pittsburgh, ecclesiastically a storm center for the time being. He considered that the leadership of the General Synod was in the hands of able, experienced men. Of himself he would probably never have felt a call to make himself prominent in partisan strife. At any rate, it was not until a few leaders of what became the General Council party attempted to impose upon the General Synod their peculiarity that he had become aroused. Throughout his career he was not the originator in any militant situation. But he did not shirk bearing witness in affairs that called for his aid. As a man, student, and scholar, who had profited by study in European centers of learning, he was entitled to be heard through the papers for which he wrote, and through his books. His sermons in church, his

counsel at conventions, his lectures from platforms carried the weight of conviction. He loved his General Synod, saw its great possibilities, and defended it in response to inner conviction and to requests for aid from the outside.

We have mentioned how men like J. A. Brown and F. W. Conrad repeatedly urged him for contributions to their periodicals. He also testified in courts. The Schism caused many church trials, at which leaders and experts on both sides appeared in order to give testimony. C. P. Krauth was repeatedly summoned for the General Council party; J. A. Brown usually represented the General Synod side. Stuckenberg left the city June 25, 1868, to testify at such a trial at Leechburg. Some of these trials were extensive and expensive. J. A. Brown was on the stand for five days, one-half day for direct examination, and the rest of the time under cross examination.<sup>9</sup> "The request of the General Council party of somewhat doubtful majority, for a change of charter, was refused by the court, as a matter of right and not of faith," he wrote. Also Krauth, who one month before had finished his tirade against Stuckenberg concerning the latter's views about the authorship of the Augsburg Confession, was present at the Leechburg trial. Stuckenberg was asked if he would like to be introduced to him, but he declined to be a party to the suggestion. Why should he be guilty of a conventional farce? Krauth had in unmistakable terms impugned his honesty. Heinrich Böhmer once said that Luther was "too much of a Christian to be a gentleman." So was Stuckenberg in this case. The Pittsburgh pastor did not question Krauth's personal relation with God. To question this was not his business. But he did question Krauth's relation to the Augsburg Confession. Krauth, who regarded himself as a finished product, would have—if they had met—looked down upon Stuckenberg as a species of dishonesty or ignorance. In writing, he had offered Stuckenberg this alternative.

In the beginning of July, Stuckenberg attended another church trial at Kittaminy. He was also present at the one



at Venango. These law suits gave him much work. His letters in 1868 have touches of sadness.

What gave him special cause for irritation was the church he had served at Erie. Mary Gingrich witnessed what was transpiring, and told about it in her letters to him. Few people in Erie kept the *Lutheran Observer*, since the sympathies of the pastor, J. L. Smith, was with the *Lutheran and Missionary*. The Pittsburgh Synod of the General Council held its meeting in the fall of 1868, in Erie. Its President pointed to the action of the General Synod at Fort Wayne, in 1866, refusing to seat delegates, which was, he maintained, a "betrayal of the Faith of our Fathers." Now, the "honest confessors" by "an overruling Providence" were organized into the General Council, "in the very edifice whose walls witnessed such consummation of the General Synod's betrayal of faith."

Fort Wayne was thus made an anticipation in miniature of French Versailles, where conquered and victors exchanged roles. The President also referred to the Worthington Convocation, December, 1867. With an "effrontery unparalleled in the annals of our church," the group there had assumed "the name and claims to be the Pittsburgh Synod." These "deceivers" should be rebuked, he said.

The "Committee on Paper of Absentees at Last Roll Call" affirmed the severe language of the President, and accused the Worthington group of using "misrepresentation and trickery, assailing our Confessions and wantonly slandering our Ministers, thereby causing great sorrow and trouble in the Church of Christ." The action of that Worthington group was lawless and sinful. The group had branded itself as "impostors." Action before the civil courts was authorized, and the names of the ten men constituting the group, of which Stuckenberg was one, was ordered removed from the roll. The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted, item for item.

Stuckenberg answered this in the Pittsburgh Dispatch, October 14, 1868, rather humorously:

"PITTSBURGH, Oct. 14th, 1868.

*"To the Editors of the Dispatch:*

"I see from your paper that a body calling itself the "Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," lately held a meeting in your city. During its ninth session action was taken in reference to a number of persons who withdrew from the convention a year ago at Greenville, simply because they were unwilling to submit to the violation of the constitution of synod by the majority who adopted doctrinal principles in conflict with that constitution; and because they were not willing to submit to the effort to rob them of their spiritual liberty by making human authority binding in matters of faith; they withdrew because they were not willing to make absolutely and unconditionally binding on themselves and the congregations they represented, a mass of creeds making a volume of seven or eight hundred pages, with many scholastic terms, and with many obscure passages about the exact meaning of which there is much dispute. And the very president of that convention told the writer of this communication, *that he did not suppose that one minister out of ten had ever read those books!* These men withdrew because they could not sufficiently torture their consciences to declare solemnly before God and man, that they believed this large mass of creeds, with all their disputed and obscure points, to be in perfect harmony with the word of God. They withdrew because they were unwilling to teach private confession and absolution, and the ubiquity of Christ's body and the communication of the divine properties of Christ to his human nature, for the purpose of making a certain view of the Lord's Supper seem reasonable; and they could not conscientiously adopt all those creeds, and then hypocritically keep their congregations ignorant of the real views they had adopted. They withdrew because they are opposed to the symbolistic and ritualistic tendencies which are creeping into the church. And those men that withdrew from that convention did not organize a new synod, stealing the name of the Pittsburgh Synod, but they claim to be the constitutional and original Pittsburgh Synod, and they are ready to meet all the civil prosecutions that are threatened.

"But I did not expect to make any statement as to the origin of the difficulty, but merely to call attention to the action of the body which lately met in Erie. From the report in your paper, I see that those who withdrew are declared to have placed themselves "in a position which is absurd, false and deceptive, and they thereby brand themselves as imposters." This charge could be made with impunity because every one included in the charge was absent. If those that withdrew acted unconstitutionally, why not summon them to appear for trial? If they refused to appear, or were found guilty after trial, then censure them or inflict any punishment found proper; would not that have been a little more just and more in accordance with the general proceedings in similar cases? But it was, of course, easier to censure them when absent, and it avoided discussion, even if it does not smack either of courtesy, constitutionality or heroism. But there was charity in the resolutions adopted. "In all the unanimity of thought," it is resolved to drop from the roll the names of those that *withdrew a year ago!* The body adopting that resolution belongs to another body calling itself the "General Council"—very suggestive of bodies with the same name in the dark ages. Why

merely drop the names from the roll of synod? Why not suspend or depose from the ministry? Why not, like other general councils of history, pronounce those who had the audacity to withdraw heretics, and with a "damnamus" consign them to perdition? Merely to charge them with being false, absurd, deceptive, lawless, sinful, and impostors, is very mild. As one of those who withdrew, I expected a free use of the word "damnamus" which is found so frequently in one of the creeds adopted by that body a year ago. And let me assure that body that those of us that withdrew care neither for their severe nor their light censures, since, in spite of the fact that they are the majority, and claim to be the orthodoxy par excellence, we are convinced that we have acted conscientiously, and could not have done otherwise without becoming hypocritical and false to God, and without becoming genuine impostors. Let but the truth be known and we shall not fear the results.

"J. H. W. STUCKENBERG."

Stuckenberg's successor as pastor to the Erie Church, J. Lawson Smith, was gradually getting his congregation over into General Council waters. The meeting of the General Council Pittsburgh Synod strengthened the latter's efforts. Messrs. Ullery, Welcher, Jacobs, Roth, and many others were entertained at dinner and supper at the home of the parents of Mary Gingrich. Mr. Gingrich, sick with heart disease, had to avoid excitement and took no active part in strife. His sentiments, however, were with Stuckenberg. The W . . . family was opposed to Stuckenberg. It resented that Gingrich had become a Republican during the war and it attributed his political change of heart to Stuckenberg. Other Democrats of the congregation turned, for the same reason, against Stuckenberg and his Synod. Mary Gingrich's rich uncle, H. Jarecki, "was pursued with constant visits and flattery from R . . . and P . . . and other preachers. Mr. Goff was discredited because of some business transaction which was made the most of, and he was persecuted," she wrote.

In December, 1868, Rev. Smith, as related before, was trying to get the church council to strike some words in the church constitution. The words General Synod were to be stricken out. It required some time, though, before two-thirds majority was obtained, when the Erie church was won for the General Council. The church had tried to discipline Mr. Goff, friend of Stuckenberg, an excellent man,



Sunday School superintendent and editor, but they could not proceed, because he had not committed anything illegal. Mr. Gingrich left the church disgusted. His daughter, Mary, commented: "Oh, the injury to the young people of these families. To this day (1912) some of them will not have anything to do with any church. The conversation at the tables of many preachers present was the reverse of promoting godliness. Mere debasing gossip." She had observed also, as she wrote to her future husband, "It's funny, the way they allude to your name, and how unwilling they hear it spoken."

This disagreeable picture is typical of struggling churchdom in times of schism and disruption, far more serious than political squabbles which are merely regarded as "secular." But since the organized church considers itself as an expression, a *Darstellung*, of the real church, or the body of Christ, or the kingdom of God, which *Darstellung* it never can be, its actions are draped in a sacred solemn velvet. This is the great "Church" deception, the Babylonish captivity against which Luther fought with all his strength. The penalty of deception is unrest which affects both the innocent and the guilty.

From physical exposure in the army, Stuckenberg was subject to sickness which generally attacked him in the summer. He was ill in the summers of 1868 and 1869, and therefore spent his summer vacation at Bedford Springs, where he, among many others, also met men of leadership in the General Synod. He needed both physical and mental recreation. A word to his betrothed, in July, 1869, indicates his state of feelings at the time:

"I am trying to tutor my heart into indifference respecting the opinion of others. I care less and less about the opinions of enemies. But I want my friends to think well of me . . . Experience is often a cruel teacher, but a thorough one. Just now I feel that I am growing more and more estranged to society. I feel keenly the hypocrisy and heartlessness of the world to enjoy anything. I am greatly perplexed at times—more than any of my friends imagine.



Outwardly, I am better situated than ever before. But my inner conflicts are great and innumerable. I sometimes think seriously of quitting the ministry; mind and heart are in chaotic state . . . Between me and the world there is just now nothing but discord. I need 'tuning,' so does the world."

But Stuckenberg was not the only one dissatisfied. He never went to the length of Dr. Passavant, who, in a letter to F. W. Conrad, showed a greatly agitated state of mind because of the stand taken by the *Lutheran Observer*, which Conrad was editing. The letter, dated January 8, 1869, also mirrors the excitement of many others in those days, who were perturbed about the schism and identified a rent in the organized church with a schism in the church universal, the invisible kingdom of Christ. The letter serves to illuminate the church situation, particularly the spirit of self-complacent partisanship—no Synod was free from it—characteristic of the circles affected. It can therefore be recorded here.

It appeals to the intimacy and friendship of many years between writer and recipient, and confesses that "*if I read the Observer any more my own confidence in you will entirely die.*" I must, he says, discontinue it on account of its content. Others had ordered its discontinuance also. "Our sainted brother Bassler, when at what he supposed his dying hour, a year ago, gave the most emphatic direction, for the sake of his family, that the *Observer* should be immediately stopped. And your old friend, Professor Kopp, charged me at once to do the same, a few hours before he died, stating that he could not die in peace without such a charge, for they knew that a course was pursued which was exactly the contrary of your repeated and avowed sentiments." Passavant goes on to tell Conrad that the latter's avowed object in buying the *Observer* was to "*Lutheranize the Church,*" to save it from the "American Lutheranism" of the Platform-Sprecher and Schmucker School, but now he (Conrad) is the most able defender of this thing that he once so diligently labored to destroy.

He was advocating the "most Un-Lutheran type of Lutheranism." "I can point to the room and the persons present when you denounced Wittenberg College and Seminary 'as a nest of vipers'—and declared that 'unless it was destroyed, its brood would curse the Church'." "Now you laud it . . . and work with your accustomed zeal to build up a second Wittenberg at Mendota, where its children dwell!"

The reference to Mendota relates to the time when Carthage College was about to be established, when both Mendota College and Springfield's dying Illinois State University bade for consideration as territorially advantageous for the new school to be established, or better an old one to be revived. Passavant next reminds Conrad of his activities in the city of Pittsburgh, where he had visited Stuckenberg's Church.

"In this city, too, your work is as plainly visible, and through your meeting with certain members of the 7th St. Church, *while they were members and officers*, a schism has been perpetuated which time will not heal even in your life. A Wittenberg radical was your chosen man, and he in turn carries out your view of order, and failing to obtain permission 'to be absent from the Pittsburgh Synod for the remainder of the session,' they turn around, hold a convention at Worthington and declare themselves the body which *refused them permission!*" He mentions other grievances also: "My heart is sore and sad when I read your articles and see how entirely and deeply you have gone astray . . . I shall think better, much better, of my old friend when I no longer see those melancholy evidences of latitudinarianism, lawlessness and laxity in doctrine and practice."

This sad letter, too, was one of conviction, transferring the troubles of organized Zion to real Zion. The letter did not change the path of Conrad any more than did a similar eleven-page letter written to him thirteen months before, by Joseph A. Seiss.

In the meantime Stuckenberg had been at Bedford, had returned to Pittsburgh and married October 27, 1869, Mary



MARY GINGRICH STUCKENBERG





Gingrich. The two were well-matched people whose wedded life was to be long, and one of ever-increasing happiness.

§ 4. In Pulpit—On Platform—In the Press

Reserving the treatment of the beautiful home life of Stuckenberg and his wife till later, we will confine ourselves here to getting a glimpse of him as a speaker and writer in Pittsburgh. His sermons were never more direct and searching than among the people in Messiah church. He spoke and wrote on soul nurture, on the training of children, on the relation of pastor and congregation, and on many other themes usually treated in the Lutheran pulpit, which aims to make the Word the center in all preaching. Though he made strong appeals to the individual to bear worthy fruits of repentance and to accept the grace of Christ, he laid much emphasis on the church as a working body. This was also brought out in his articles.

(1) In *Thoughts on Preaching*, written for the "Lutheran Observer," he stresses that truth must be adapted to the minds of the hearers in order to be effective. He described the various kinds of hearers. Some want something for exercising their thinking. Others want surface thinking. Some like illustrations, truths attractively presented in new forms. Others want truth unadorned, regarding figures as too worldly. Some have favorite themes which they like to hear discussed frequently, though these themes may be dull to others. Some desire to hear much about heaven, others more about ordinary experiences and affairs of daily life. Some want truth in the form of seed, suggestion; others desire it unfolded. Some always desire to hear things new, like the Athenians; others have a suspicion of the new, and want the old repeated over and over again. Preaching can not suit fond desires. The preacher's work is spiritual, he must adopt the rule of Jesus to give his hearers what they need most, whether they desire it or not. Preaching is testifying, bearing witness of Jesus. He who can report only what he has heard of

others will bear weak testimony. He must have some experience of the power of truth. Every Christian has something individual and peculiar in his experience. We are all alike, and yet unlike, as to Christian experience. The preacher who takes the truth of God's word and lets it work in him as a leaven and then presents it as he feels it and knows it by experience to be true, will be fresh. His sermon is a living product, not a dead letter. He will preach with unction and not recite a dull essay. There must be freshness in the pulpit, but that does not mean startling novelties which may produce a worldly sensation, but which are foreign to the aim of the Gospel. Spiritual freshness lives only in the one that lives in the Gospel. The only real interpreter of Scripture is the man who has in him the same spirit that produced the Gospel. The gospel must live in the preacher.

(2) In the *Pittsburgh Pulpit*, with a home circulation of 5,000, he published a sermon that he preached in April, 1873. The theme was: *Christian Social Power*. He was already thinking strongly in terms of sociology, which later claimed so much of his attention. This sermon abounds in terms like the social communion of Christians, Christian Society, social relation, social school, social circle, social meat, social intercourse, social element in religion, Christian sociality. He asserts that Christ did not merely introduce new doctrines, but also a new life into the world. This life has an organizing power, forming a peculiar people named Christian Society. It is more than society in general. Membership in it does not depend on the vote of a Christian. Jesus and the twelve founded the first Christian Society. He trained his members by social communion. The school in which Christ taught was chiefly social. He had social intercourse with the disciples on the way to Emmaus. Christians multiplied and formed a society entirely distinct and strikingly peculiar. The apostles attach importance to the social elements of religion. Our age stands in need of hearty social intercourse. The Christian press, pulpit, missionary and other benevolent institutions

of work are recognized as valuable and are powerful. But social intercourse is generally neglected. A pastor's visit is social and sometimes accomplishes more than a dry sermon. Professing Christians will spend hours together without so much as mentioning the subject of religion. The divine service of the sanctuary has the *spiritual*, but lacks the *social* element. We need a union of the spiritual and social, Christian sociability is needed. People who worship for several years in neighboring pews may not have even a speaking acquaintance. Poor and rich may shun each other, but poverty can be as vain and proud as wealth. The church must bring its social power into exercise.

In this sermon Stuckenberg expresses the insufficiency of conventional public worship. He questions, perhaps unconsciously, the claim of the organized church to be what he at other times and with many others had claimed it was: the body of Christ. He attributes demonstrability to the church, but also to what he calls Christian society. Both are divine according to his view. But Christian society is more comprehensive than church.

How shall the contents of this sermon be evaluated? It shows that social thinking had gripped him deeply, so deeply that it never let him go again. But what about this sociality or sociability? This question will have to be faced later in this book, depending on the advancing claims made upon sociality by Stuckenberg.<sup>10</sup>

(3) In preaching on the parables, Stuckenberg sometimes would draw inferences that critical theology hesitates about accepting. From the parable about Dives and Lazarus, he drew the conclusion that there can be no doubt that "we shall know each other in the great beyond." We believe this, too, but this parable supplies no proof for this. Luther preached six times on this text. Each time he preached on it, he knew less about it. In the last sermon on it, he was sure about one thing only: God's love. The modern conception of the parables excludes them as *means* of proof in Dogmatics, though Adolf Julicher still held to this view.<sup>11</sup>

(4) Stuckenberg, long before Starbuck devised his questionnaires in psychology of religion, made profitable excursions into this field of psychology. He tells, he knew of an "English physician who knew some 300 sick persons, who, supposing that they would soon die, seemed to repent. All were restored to health, and only ten gave evidence of being really regenerated. . . . An American physician knew over one hundred similar cases, but only three were Christians after their recovery." He made appropriate comments on these facts. The psychological trend is also noticed in these utterances of Stuckenberg: "To die in the Lord is more easy and more difficult than some suppose. Some think they must do so much to save themselves (Prodigal) others rely on formality. Some are nearer the Kingdom than they imagine, others farther away . . . There is a difference between a mere feeling of security, and security in reality. There is a great difference in Christians respecting their assurance on deathbed."<sup>12</sup>

Sunday forenoons, in Stuckenberg's church, were always reserved for sermons. But on Sunday evenings he often delivered lectures. He gave at one time in Pittsburgh a series of six lectures on the Reformation. He delivered several other series on different religious movements while in this city. On such evenings his church was crowded, over-crowded, the auditors frequently being five times as many as his own parishioners. Such attendance brought about the determination of the congregation, in 1872, to obtain a larger church. A lot was secured on the corner of Penn Street and Garrison Alley; forty thousand dollars was subscribed for the lot alone.

Stuckenberg was frequently asked to preach in churches belonging to other denominations. At the installment of Rev. Noble at the Third Presbyterian Church, he delivered the charge to the congregation. His conception of Christianity had no room for "Galesburg Rules." He could very well see the practicality of moderate restrictive regulations, but he would not invest them with religious authority



making them binding on one's conscience. The I-am-holier-than-thou talk about "sinful unionism" in church circles was merely so much inexcusable, stupid prate to him.

He therefore combated narrowness also in non-Lutheran bodies. He criticised severely, in a letter to the *Lutheran Observer*, June 3, 1869, the trial and suspension of the well-known layman, George H. Stuart. Stuart was suspended from the eldership and membership of the Reformed Presbyterian Church because he had violated the "standards of the church on Psalmody" and avowed he would do so. He had, the complaint read, used in the worship of God, "imitations and uninspired compositions called hymns," and would continue to use them. Stuckenberg described the exciting scene of the trial and was wondering whether he was really living in the nineteenth century. "I never saw anything that gave the enemies of Christ a better pretext for attacking and ridiculing his Church than the trial and suspension of George H. Stuart."

In February, 1869, Philip Schaff visited Pittsburgh and delivered lectures on the observance of the Sabbath, being introduced by Stuckenberg. The two knew each other well and were several times at the same platform, in various cities, addressing audiences on the cause of the Christian Evangelical Alliance, the Sunday School, or the place of the Bible in religious life. Stuckenberg generally called Sunday "Sabbath," but he had a more liberal conception about the Lord's day than did Schaff.

Sometimes Stuckenberg would cross swords with somebody in the local papers. He was challenged by some Insignificance styling himself "Hoc est," on statistics in the Episcopal church, which had lost some members to Rome. On June 8, 1870, Stuckenberg replied in the *Pittsburgh Commercial*, pointing to Puseyism, giving names and sources in abundance to satisfy candid inquiry. His next challenger was "Historicus"—it may have been the same man as "Hoc est." He wanted to correct statements of Stuckenberg on the relation of the bishop to the papal chair. This, too, drew a reply from Stuckenberg bristling

with facts, and radiating good-natured playful irony, silencing the censor. It is significant that the critic or critics hid behind assumed names.

§ 5. As Pittsburgh Citizen—Sympathy for Anti-Papal Struggle in Italy—Co-operation in Founding a Public Library—Interest in the Y. M. C. A. and the Art Institute

The influence which Stuckenberg exerted outside his parish as a citizen was notable. It was natural that he, as a former army chaplain, generally functioned at the religious patriotic ceremonies at the cemetery on Memorial Day. Thus on Decoration Day in 1872, he rode with Dr. Wilson, the orator at the occasion, to the cemetery, performing the duties of chaplain. "There will be room for you too—but it will be unoccupied," he wrote to his wife, who happened to be away from the city. The year previous he had been near the battlefield of Gettysburg, so well known to him from his experiences in that terrible battle of 1863. He had been lecturing in Hanover not far from it.

In Italy, war was being fought. It ended in the fall of the Pope's temporal power. Pittsburgh met to celebrate this liberation of Italy from the political rule of the Pope. A mass meeting was held at Liberty Hall. Stuckenberg delivered a stirring address, reviewing Rome's struggle in the past and now ending in the liberation from political papacy. He, as chairman of the committee, offered resolutions of sympathy and congratulation to Italy. He was followed by speakers like Hon. F. R. Brunet, Hon. Thomas Williams, Hon. H. B. Swope, Rev. L. Naumberg, and Rev. J. B. Bittinger. Letters from distinguished citizens were read—all climaxing in the adoption of the resolutions.

Wherever he saw liberty at stake, he lifted his voice against its oppressor, in state or church, as he had done in the Civil War and in combatting compartmental confessionism, though he warned against confusing liberty with license.

The work of the Y. M. C. A. was fascinating to Stuckenberg. He had labored for it in Davenport, Erie, and In-

dianapolis, and was to contribute much to its cause in Pittsburgh. Naturally, he showed special concern for work of this kind in the city of smoke and smelteries. He delivered many lectures before the local body, and, in 1870 addressed the International Convention of the Y. M. C. A. At this latter occasion he tried to show how American and German could mutually profit by associating with each other in an organization. He spoke of "we Germans," mincing no words about any racial superiority in advocating coöperation between Anglo-Saxon and German. He had himself come from a Saxon land, and from one that had some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon rule. He had received his training both in America and in Germany, and could speak from experience.

"We need," he said to the Americans of Anglo-Saxon stock, "your practical tact and business ability, your fearlessness, your activity and energy . . . Then some of you Americans need a little of what the Germans have . . . a little more of our slowness and patience and soberness, of our determination to take a stand and keep it: a little more of that spirit that considers before it decides, and when it decides is fixed as a rock . . . a little more of the depth and thoroughness of the German Young Men's Christian Association. Let us . . . leaven each other. Do not expect us who are Germans to come right in with you and be Americans. We can not do it . . . If Germans are in conventions, do not expect them to pop up at every question . . . before the house." He pointed to the great influence the German race exerted in the United States alike on politics, literature, society, and religion. He was sorry for the prejudice which he noted against Germans in their being called "Infidels," "beer drinkers," "Sabbath breakers." He told of a correspondent of the *London Times* that "he never knew an educated German who was not an infidel." Stuckenberg opined that this false notion ought to be dispelled. He mentioned half a dozen of his teachers in Germany who were not infidels. And both Bismarck and King William of Prussia were not infidels . . . There should be at least

one table in a Y. M. C. A. reading room covered with German papers, dailies, weeklies, magazines, reviews. "Respect the Germans. They leave their Fatherland to improve their condition and to give their children a future. They have a worthy motive."

We have mentioned the two libraries which he sponsored for his church people. He was also chairman of the Committee of the Pittsburgh branch of the Y. M. C. A. to secure a "Free Public Library" for the city, since the city did not have any such, though it had several library associations. Together with M. B. Sloan and Chas. H. Read, he drew up a circular, dated September 20, 1870, which launched the Free Public Library. Several hundred volumes had been secured. One firm had contributed nearly two hundred dollars' worth of books. The coöperation of public-spirited men was asked for in the form of donations of money or books, chiefly religious works for ministers and other professional men, but also donations of works such as travels, poetry, historical and scientific works. The modest beginnings of free public libraries in Pittsburgh can be traced back to the circular just mentioned.

Some of the citizens took pride in possessing ancient books. When the *Pittsburgh Chronicle* published a list of what purported to be the oldest books in the city, Stuckenberg informed the paper that he owned a copy of the Vulgate printed in 1615 at Frankfort, "1200 pages, well preserved, excellent print." Another was the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, in German, one of Melancthon's editions, printed under his own eyes at Wittenberg, in 1540 by Georg Rhan. It was "not paged, in wood binding . . . notes in ink in margin, published but a few steps from the door of Luther . . ."

Fond as he was of books—and his library was large and valuable—he was not the man that would keep a book owned by somebody else. An example: He had come into possession of some books and papers at Fredericksburg, when the Union Army was in that city, which appeared to



be given to the soldiers for pillage. Some of the soldiers, Stuckenberg among them, had come to a deserted house belonging to Matthew F. Maury, hydrographer, once commodore of the U. S. navy from 1855, but later in the Civil War commodore of the navy of the Confederates. Chaos ruled on the premises, books on the floor and in an out-house. Stuckenberg, learning in the early part of 1873, about the death of Maury, wondered if he was in any way related to that home. He made inquiries in a letter and related that he possessed some books from that house. In fact he had rescued them from destruction. He was willing to return them to the family if he could identify it. A reply—brief, cold and polite, from a son indicated readiness to receive the property: if sent to such and such a place, it would reach the proper destination. Stuckenberg returned the property promptly.

He appreciated art, especially painting, sculpture and architecture. His later journals contain many descriptions of what he saw in galleries and museums in Europe, and of Cathedrals and public buildings. The Art Society of Pittsburgh got his ardent support when it was started. Its father was Professor M. M. Johnson. Stuckenberg's name was on the list of honorary members. In November, 1875, after Stuckenberg had moved to Springfield, Ohio, Johnson wrote him, requesting him for reading an essay before the Society, if he would be in the city during the winter. "The membership, composed of the most cultivated people of the cities, already numbers one hundred and twenty." It was believed that it would be doubled before the close of the year. At the writing Johnson was professor at Beaver College (near Pittsburgh), where were also Professor and Mrs. Blessner, friends of Stuckenberg. Twenty years later Johnson again wrote to him, reminding him of their mutual interests in promoting the growth of the Art Society.

Also music was highly appreciated by Stuckenberg. Mention has been made before of his enthusiasm for the singing of Jenny Lind, Sweden's greatest singer, when he

was a lad in Cincinnati, and for the playing of Ole Bull, Norway's greatest violinist, at the latter's visit to Pittsburgh.

His attendance at synods has been mentioned, though they were not of a civic nature. He would occasionally travel westward. Thus he visited his sick mother in Cincinnati, in January, 1869, and preached for a crowded church in Indianapolis on the next Sunday. Of his sojourn together with his wife in Europe, we shall speak in the next section.

The educators of the city sought him for counsel. He visited with professors in institutions of learning in his own city and in Allegheny, and Washington. His ministerial experiences would carry him into some of the great iron mills and factories, where he could see men at work. There also for the first time he was brought into association with people of large means, especially those whose humanitarian endeavor would bring them into contact with him, men like Thaw and Felix Brunot. His professional companions were especially Noble, Scovel, B. Garret, George Hayes. Mrs. Josiah Reamer began at this time the development that made her name prominent in her denomination. She was of great help to him in his work. He had most intimate friendships with families like the Chalmers, friends of his father's. Greatest helper of all, also in a civic way, was perhaps his gifted wife, kind, firm, wise, tactful and resourceful.

#### § 6. Six Calls Declined

To the number of calls extended to Stuckenberg before he came to Pittsburgh—one half dozen—seven others came to him after moving to this city. He declined them all except the last one which summoned him to his new work as professor of theology in Ohio.

Even before the expiration of his first year in Pittsburgh, Dr. Sprecher again expressed his desire to have him at Wittenberg College. There was great need for teaching help at this institution, but it was too poor to get

it. "Oh! when will our people afford the means to employ more teachers? I have 26 hours of actual teaching every week. Just think of that—26 hours of teaching as Theology, Psychology, Logic, Moral Science, Rhetoric, Homiletics, Hebrew—and the time such studies require! . . . And then to attend to the correspondence and discipline of the institution literally exhausts me." Sprecher was to wait more than four years longer for relief and for Stuckenberg, who now was equipped as no other for teaching at Wittenberg.

1. In the meantime, Dr. J. B. Detweiler, in January, 1870, asked Stuckenberg to come to Omaha, of 18,000 inhabitants, where he could "do much greater things than in Pittsburgh." A. Kountze had also written to him about coming to Omaha, and wrote again, in October, 1871: "Can't you suggest another. We are suffering sadly for want of a minister."

2. A letter arrived from G. A. Lintner, President of the Board of Hartwick Seminary, Hartwick, New York, asking him to be principal of the college and professor of theology. Lintner requested him to recommend another man for the position if he could not consider it himself. Hartwick Seminary was the oldest Lutheran Seminary in America, but it was poor. It offered a salary of \$1500 a year. Sprecher had recommended him.

3. He next received a call from a western institution. It was either Mendota, that F. W. Conrad was interested in, or Carthage College, established in 1870. Sprecher advised him against administrative work, though circumstances might require this. "You will notice that very few Presidents of Colleges ever become distinguished in the literary world; while many Professors of Colleges do," wrote Sprecher.

4. In February, 1872, Stuckenberg visited Indianapolis, resulting in efforts being made to get him back to the city which he liked so well and to its English Lutheran Church that he had served. A call was extended to him March 12, the salary was to be twice what he was receiving when he

left it. Still, it did not quite amount to the salary he was receiving in Pittsburgh. He declined, though not for salary reasons.

5. In May of the same year The Presbyterian church of the same city offered him a call. The salary was to be \$1000 more than what he was being paid in Pittsburgh. Acceptance would have involved a transfer of membership from the General Synod to the Presbyterian body. The letter, written by Charles N. Todd, to ease matters, mentioned that Dr. Sprecher's son at Albany, "one of your most prominent men," had accepted a Presbyterian pastorate.

6. A committee consisting of George Fish and C. E. Brockman, in Cincinnati, had been requested to ascertain whether Stuckenberg would be willing to succeed J. B. Helwig, who had accepted a call to the English Lutheran church in Dayton. "We have no one else in view here. You are the choice of the congregation and adapted for this field of labor better than anybody else."

Finally, a call came that he could not refuse, from his alma mater. Of this later.

#### § 7. At Home and Abroad—The Call from his Alma Mater

Mary Gingrich was twenty years old when she was married to Stuckenberg. She was born on a farm adjoining the city of Erie, and was the eldest of nine children. She had been schooled in Erie Academy and later in Lake Erie Seminary, Painsville, Ohio, one of the Mary Lyon schools founded on the plan of Mt. Holyoke, and having a faculty of Mt. Holyoke graduates, all New England women, filled with the religious zeal peculiar to Mary Lyon herself. Much attention was given to Bible study, and daily meetings for prayer were held. Mrs. Stuckenberg's forefathers were of pre-Revolutionary lineage. Her father did much reading, took a prominent part in church work, would read for his auditors a sermon in church at Sunday worship when the pastor was absent. This meant many read sermons during Stuckenberg's chaplaincy in the army, when



he was on leave of absence from his Erie church. Mr. Gingrich was also a justice and a member of the school board.

Stuckenberg had waited long for Mary. They corresponded for many years while engaged. But her youth held off marriage. Stuckenberg had the Pittsburgh church well in hand when she joined him as his wife. She was his true companion for thirty-four years, sharing his joys and sorrows, unselfishly, devotedly, and gladly. They were as if predestined for each other in taste, temperament, in views of life, both ever ready to help others, devoted to their aims and tasks and determined to see them realized.

Having a home of his own, Stuckenberg now sought to make it an important factor in the life of his church. He announced a weekly evening at home for members of his congregation. But this social opportunity was not of much avail in a congregation consisting so largely of business men, whose homes were widely separated. It was not until he became a pastor in Berlin, Germany, that this feature of his pastoral endeavor was fully appreciated.

The tramp would frequently announce himself uninvited at his parsonage door; but he, too, could not walk away empty-stomached or sometimes even empty-handed. The boys of the community liked the tall preacher; he had a rare power to meet their requirements, and they often found delight in coming to his home.

His congregation contained a number of prominent owners of iron mills. His unrestricted access to the employees in the rolling mills and glass factories, and especially in times of trouble, to the homes of working men, gave him full knowledge of the merits and faults of the people. It was his insight into the drunkenness, here principally among the well-paid rolling mill hands, that made him keenly alive to the necessity of temperance work for America. His wife later acquired prominence in this work. He thought in the beginning he could make an exception for Germany in regard to the need for this work. It was an anomaly to discover poverty and despair in the homes

of workingmen who were receiving a wage of only two dollars a day. They saved and did not waste. As to the effect of liquor among some better paid men and upon the English poet, Richard Realf, who visited his home both in Cincinnati and in Springfield, he knew only too well. More plainly did he witness the bane of drink in the penitentiary, where he often called in behalf of prisoners and their relatives.

But it was especially his contact with Labor that caused him to go to the New Testament to study the social message of Christ, as he conceived it to be in that book. The results of his studies were published in book form at the end of his stay in Springfield, where he had often given lectures on "Christian Sociology."

The laborers of the great factories had now, for the first time, organized themselves as Knights of Labor; and he followed their development with sympathetic attention. As for himself, he adopted the customary silk hat worn by the clergy; meanwhile, he was studying the situation as to labor and capital with reference to the duty he was owing to both.

His forenoons he always had for himself, using them for study.

In the summer of 1872, Mrs. Stuckenberg was prostrated by illness of fever. Since also his vigor had been much reduced, he planned a sojourn of four months for himself and his wife in Europe, expecting that this would bring complete recovery to both. The sojourn lasted six months, serious illness of a member of the party causing delay in returning.

They sailed from New York July 6, 1872 on the steamer "California" for Glasgow. With them were Miss Sallie Negley and her brother, Charles. The itinerary for the various countries included the following: Several days for Scotland; six days for London; ten for Paris; four for the Rhine, including Heidelberg; twenty for Switzerland; then a stay in Italy until October 25; leaving the remaining five weeks for Germany. During their absence he regularly

wrote letters to "the Members and Friends of the Messiah Lutheran Church." They relate, for example, about a visit to the house of John Knox, to the grave of Thomas Chalmers, and of Hugh Miller. Spurgeon's sermons, which they heard, were described as full of the Spirit of the Gospel, with unsparing denunciations of ritualism and Romanistic tendencies. Paris was described as godless and licentious. The Rhine was pictured as delightful. But he was filled with no rapture for Rome and the Pope. His diaries also contain ample data about Rome.

As to Germany, the party visited Augsburg, Wittenberg, Eisenach, Weimar—the Luther places and many other cities, including Dresden. By an inexplicable circumstance, the Stuckenberg party was permitted to roam at will in the famous Dresden gallery at the time when no other than Emperor William I, the Empress and the Crown Prince, late Emperor Frederick, were present to inspect the pictures at their leisure. A few days in Berlin completed the tour in Europe.

Then a delay of two months followed, owing to Miss Negley's sickness. She had contracted typhoid. Mrs. Stuckenberg nursed her, under a physician's care. Stuckenberg, left to himself, made visits to the places where he had studied in former days. He came to Halle, heard Dr. Julius Köstlin lecture on Ethics; he also heard Tholuck who now was feeble and slow. "Dear old man, how much I am indebted to him," he wrote. He called on Petersen, the bookseller, and his mother, and visited his own student room at Jägerplatz 12. He saw Justitzrath Wilke, and his daughter, Mrs. Giesebrecht. He visited Miss Hupfeld, whose sister Sophia, he learned, was a deaconess in Berlin. He had several walks with Tholuck, then dinner with him one day. "He was so near-sighted that he could not see the glass on the table before him. When he withdrew, he bid me a hearty farewell and in real German style gave me a hearty kiss. Mrs. Tholuck then told me about her desire to dispose of some articles to aid her in paying for the

*Konvikt*. I agreed to take them away to America and gave her 15 Thaler."

To Stuckenberg, Tholuck was unforgettable. He was "inspirational" through and through; but "unclassifiable" in theology, according to Adolf Harnack. Stuckenberg's devotion to him was unbounded. "He has no equal in this century, perhaps in history" in regard to personal influence. (*Our Day* 1884). "For many years Tholuck was not only the most widely known theologian in Germany, but of the world." (*Homiletic Review*, 1885).

There was one friend whom Stuckenberg on this sojourn failed to meet: Dr. Polenz, who had passed away in 1870. He was a man of scholarship and of some means. He was glad to add to the comfort of Stuckenberg's parents. He had a very heavy overcoat that he did not use, and had offered to send it to Stuckenberg's father.

Sad news was waiting for Stuckenberg as he came to Dresden. A letter from his brother stated that his "father was so sick that his recovery was despaired of"; he had received communion and it was thought the end was near. "O, that I could see him once more in the flesh," was Stuckenberg's painful jotting in his Journal. He awaited more news, was perturbed with anxiety. Further news came that Hermann Stuckenberg was still alive, the physician saying, however, that he could but live for a few days more. He was resigned, prepared to depart, even anxious to go.

But Stuckenberg never saw his father again.

The party, as soon as Miss Negley's condition permitted, started on their return journey. When they came to Pittsburgh a rousing welcome from the church was given to the pastor and his wife. Sunday School Superintendent J. B. Chalmers had written two hymns, "Welcome to Our Pastor," to be sung by the Sunday School, and "Hymn of our Pastor's Return," to be sung by the church—at their return. Great rejoicing was manifested.

After their return, in spring, the pastor and his wife changed residence, moving from 23 Street, Pittsburgh, to



228 North Avenue, Allegheny City. This brought them in closer touch with a larger number of church members.

A few months after their return, Wittenberg College called him as Professor of Theology. Both Sprecher and Samuel Bowman, of the Board, had come to see him, and to press the claims of the college upon him. Some indignation arose in the congregation at this, but when it learned that he was to sacrifice at least \$1000 in salary, it recognized that his acceptance of the new call was a devotion to duty. There were some, though, that voiced the opinion that "anybody scholarly enough, no matter how dry, might do for a professor! A man so full of life as Stuckenberg had no business to abandon the pulpit!"

However, the acceptance of the professorship was a blow to the new church at Pittsburgh. Not that it failed in obtaining able successors. Rev. T. C. Bilheimer, later professor of Theology at Gettysburg, a gifted preacher, succeeded him. And Stuckenberg did not take his leave with a light heart. He deliberated much and so long that Dr. Sprecher, when the season was far spent, had to telegraph him asking whether the theological department of Wittenberg was to open in fall or not. Stuckenberg sent his reply, and confirmed it by moving to Springfield in the month of August, 1873.

Fifteen years after Stuckenberg's departure, the difficult field was abandoned. Messiah church, no more than any other church organization, "good" or "poor," was the unorganized church of the third article of the Apostles Creed, the Church against which "the gates of hell shall not prevail." It was a piece of the "world", not necessarily sinful, but subject to the law of rise and decline, as everything historical is. A hostile, unhistorical, untheological judgment might point menacingly to the "wages of sin"; and speak of it as a "secession" church that had "rent the garment of Christ," etc. Such judgments, however, have absolutely no value. To thinking Protestants, nothing appears so baneful as the authority of the Roman church and papacy. Many a funeral sermon has been preached on Rome as the institution that God turned against in retribu-

tion. But Rome still stands, not because of the impotency of the gates of hell, or the potency of divine protection, but because of age and organization. It is too old to change, to be reformed. It, too, is "world," and as such subject to historical "law"; however much of it be sinful world. This extinction had nothing to do with the "secession" from the First Lutheran Church, which today itself has a very small group of worshipers, due to a poor geographical situation in a changing civilization—but in no way to its attitude in 1869.

The corporate life of Messiah church was short. It may have been too much wrapped up in one man. But that is only a partial explanation. However short as its life was, it was nevertheless the cause of preserving the General Synod in Pittsburgh and vicinity. In the mind of hundreds of ministers that very cause was a cause sufficient and worthy, championing a form of liberty that the First Lutheran church found difficult to tolerate in the "Gateway of the West."

#### § 8. Appreciation

How fellow pastors in the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod and pastors of other denominations in Pittsburgh viewed Stuckenberg, may be seen from the following. "He was," wrote Rev. John W. Schwartz, a contemporary pastor at Worthington, Pa., "so far above me . . . He towered so far above me that I could only stand off and admire him . . . I was content to let him shed his light with all its brilliancy . . . There was a trio of extraordinary men in our small synodical aggregation—Stuckenberg, Barnitz, Goettman. Congenial men they were, godly men . . . Dr. Stuckenberg was a man of profound intellectual endowment, and his piety was ardent, and his mental power was great. He had his convictions of right and wrong, and was firm as a rock in his defense of what he conceived as truth. But withal his firmness, he was kind as a loving brother could be toward anyone who saw fit to oppose him. He had his enemies, but he never deserted them, except as they were enemies of righteousness."

Rev. H. H. Hall, who was at Monongahela City, Pa., tells of the convention in Salem Church in 1868: "It was chestnut time and the woods abounded in those nuts. The ministers went to the church and attended synodical session with their pockets full, and one of the scenes I have before me is . . . Breckenridge sitting in a front seat eating chestnuts and pausing to take part in a discussion. The floor was littered each day with the shells, and the sexton swept a peck of them out every morning . . . Stuckenberg was profound; Goettman a sort of a father to the orphans; Earnest was what his name always implies; Schwartz was geniality itself . . . Breckenridge keen and logical; MacLaughlin was the wit of the Synod. . .

One of Stuckenberg's friends in those days was Rev. Augustus C. Ehrenfeld, several of whose ancestors had been ministers in Germany . . . He, a rather old man, was enthusiastic in his devotion to Stuckenberg. The merry times he and Stuckenberg had! He was a country preacher, and his dress gave evidence of hard usage. Once, while on a call upon Stuckenberg, the latter exclaimed, "Ehrenfeld, that's a shocking, bad hat! Use this one of mine." Whereupon he threw the offending headgear on the fire in the grate. Like two boys, they stood and laughed to see what a fire the old thing could produce.

There were two Presbyterian pastors that Stuckenberg associated much with: F. A. Noble of the Third Presbyterian Church; and Sylvester F. Scovel of the First Presbyterian. They formed a trio.

Noble, writing in 1907 and looking into the past almost 35 years, said: They met more by chance than by appointment, and especially on Mondays, and not seldom in book stores. Stuckenberg was tall, straight, broad-shouldered, and, though not nervous and excited, quick in all his movements. He had what would be called a remarkably open countenance; his head was erect; his eyes looked directly into your eyes; his face had in it the warm glow of both health and friendship. And the firm grasp of his strong right hand when he advanced to greet one, gave assurance

that his heart was in the action. To run across him when tired was a tonic to the jaded spirits; and a few words with him on the street on Monday morning was like coming under the influence of a new sunrise.

"His mind was alert and absorbent. He was intensely eager to learn . . . It was natural for him to be scholarly. It was his habit to go to original sources for his information . . . To my thinking . . . the dominant element in his make-up was ethical. First and last, and in all of my intercourse with him, this is what most impressed me. He was profoundly moral. His mind overflowed into his conscience and gave it light; and his conscience swept back into his mind and held it to right conclusions . . . More than thirty years ago, he had, in rudimentary form, the conceptions of the duties and relations of the Church of Christ to the communities which were organized about them, that we find so sanely and ably elaborated in the last book which he ever wrote.

"It is impossible for me to sit here at my desk and recall the long-ago days without a sense of deep gratitude to God that I was ever permitted to come into personal relations with a man so manly, with a minister so ministrant, and with a scholar so catholic and devout as Dr. Stuckenberg."

Rev. Scovel, who was pastor in Pittsburgh, 1866-83, and in 1883 became president of Wooster College, wrote, in 1901, from Wooster to Stuckenberg: "Never could 'good news from a far country' be more refreshing or a soul be thirstier than in the case of your delightful note to me (from England). How many times I have thought of those days in Pittsburgh, I was glad to be remembered in the trio of men (Noble was one of the trio), though not so tall." Scovel had had many trials. He continued: "It cannot be long till we shall all understand better God's dealings with us here. And if not that, then at least until we shall learn how to be perfectly satisfied that 'the Father's will is the best will.' And we may rest there, calm and still, and forever."



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CHAPTER XV.

## Professor in Wittenberg College

(1873—1880)

### § 1. Instructor

Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, was passing out of a crisis when Stuckenberg accepted its call to him to the Culler Chair of Sacred Philology. The soul of the college was then Dr. Sprecher, whose gifts were most in evidence in the class room. He taught in college, in the department of theology, administered discipline, wrote his own letters and just about collected his own salary. He became President of the college in 1849. In 1872 the department of theology had fifteen students. But in 1872-73 it was not opened; those who were wishing to study theology were advised to go to the seminary at Gettysburg, whose Board in 1872 elected him for one of its chairs in the seminary. He was minded to accept, and many were afraid he would; but he remained at Wittenberg, giving all his time to the college that year. Re-opening the school of theology would depend on getting additional teachers. The Board of Illinois State University had proposed to Wittenberg that its theological department be moved to and merged with that of the Lutheran institution in Springfield, Illinois. But this proposition, supported by all the Western Synods, was turned down by Wittenberg. Stuckenberg's name had been up before the Board before. But it was rumored, however, that he would not teach more than three hours a day, at most; and this made his friends hesitate. At his acceptance, he stipulated nothing specific

about the teacher's load, and was soon found teaching his weekly twenty and more.

Springfield was very different from the town of his student days. Rapid progress had been made in all directions. Much wealth was being developed in the manufacture of agricultural machinery. The times were full of upheaval, but Springfield was not particularly affected. The country in the winter of 1873-74 was afflicted by one of the most disastrous of periodic panics, and the following four years are a dismal tale of declining markets, bankruptcies, depression, and despair. The labor question became threatening; and especially in Pittsburgh did it find violent expression. The laboring population in Springfield found itself in a situation different from that of Pittsburgh. There was indeed an upheaval in Springfield too, but this was directed against the violation of law and order, especially as manifested by the liquor element and city councilmen supporting it. Rev. W. M. Hamma, pastor in Springfield, was perhaps the most prominent in all that was achieved by this reform movement.

The Springfield lawyers had more than state-wide prominence, among them being Samuel Bowman, member of the College Board; J. Warren Keiffer, long Speaker of the House of Congress; and Judge Rogers, who died before Stuckenberg went to Springfield. The surgeons were men of excellent reputation, and the ministry stood high.

The Stuckenbergs, guests for three weeks at the Sprechers, moved into the Hawley property, a gift to the College from a Cincinnati merchant. It stood on a four-acre plot of ground on the northern side of the campus, which extended through lawn, orchard, and meadow to a quiet country road. East, west, and north the view was almost unbroken to the horizon and included richly yielding fields, natural groves, and the beautiful Ferncliffe cemetery.

Stuckenberg had as his colleagues in the theological faculty: Dr. Sprecher and Dr. B. F. Prince, and, for a time, Dr. J. B. Helwig, afterwards President of the College. The

other professors in the college were H. R. Geiger, S. A. Ort, S. F. Breckenridge, and Isaac Sprecher. H. G. Rogers and G. H. Young were in charge of the Preparatory department.

The theological course at Wittenberg, up to the arrival of Stuckenberg, required only one year of study. Many other schools of theology practiced the same short-cut system. With Stuckenberg's arrival it was extended to two years. The courses taught were much like those in other seminaries. Stuckenberg used text books, but they were mere guides. He taught much after the fashion of the German university, with due consideration for the preparation which his students had received. His mission was to send to the churches the best men obtainable; and he wanted to equip them well. He had a fondness for introducing his students into new subjects, giving perspectives and surveys. This was the case in theology, and later in philosophy and in sociology as is shown by the title of his books. His chair was Exegesis, but he taught history, homiletics, symbolics, sociology, Greek, Hebrew in addition. Since the chair "of German languages and literature" in the college had no elected incumbent, he also performed the duties of this professorship.

Both he and Sprecher sought private conversation with students with a view of turning them to Christ and the ministry. Stuckenberg rarely absented himself from prayer meetings. Letters from Dr. Samuel Schwarm, E. D. Smith, John A. Hall, and Professor George H. Young, students of Stuckenberg, are very laudatory about his teaching and personality.

But his teacher's load grew from year to year. "Underwork," he said, "leaves cravings of the mind unsatisfied; overwork produces a painful strain; but full work is satisfaction." The burden that Sprecher had complained of came to be his also. It rested on his shoulders—and seldom did he complain—in the seven years he taught at Wittenberg. For he loved theology, and Wittenberg was poor.

## § 2. Social Interests—Friendships

Sociability and social-mindedness were outstanding virtues of Stuckenberg. He had not been long in his new field of work before he inaugurated a round of home-gatherings for the faculty members and the families of local members of trustees of the college. These social gatherings were eagerly looked forward to and were remembered with much gratification. They pointed back to the house gatherings held at Erie, and forward to the notable Sunday evening meetings in Berlin. He was ever a friendly man, and his nature basked in the joys of friendship. His personality attracted to his home at Springfield many notable guests: preachers, poets, lecturers, and others who were famous in the world of letters. One of these was Joseph Cook, for so long connected with the great Chautauqua movement, and whose reputation as lecturer upon the relation of Religion and Science was rapidly becoming world-wide. Lutheranism, as expressed by Sprecher and Stuckenberg, aroused his interest, and his subsequent letters to Wittenberg show that this interest was greatly increased as he became acquainted with the works of Lutheran scholars. The two men became fast friends, although Stuckenberg was far from agreeing with all the views of the well-known lecturer, whose studies, as Stuckenberg said at his death in 1901, did not keep him up with the times; he became dogmatic when he ought to have been tentative. Mr. Cook invited Stuckenberg to become a contributor to his magazine *Our Day*. He also invited him to lecture at Chautauqua. This was considered a high honor in those days, as Chautauqua was addressed only by men in the front rank of scholarship, and the gatherings were different from many of the present day exhibitions given under that name. In 1879 he was asked by Cook and J. H. Vincent to speak on Julius Müller and Augustus Tholuck. American theology was indebted to both of these Germans. Cook came to regard evangelical Lutheran theology as "one of my most fascinating studies." And next after Dorner's



work on Protestant Theology, he was assisted most, as he wrote, by Sprecher's *A Groundwork of a System of Theology*. He felt that he saw the heart of German theology in these works. Bishop Vincent invited Stuckenberg again, early in the year 1880. Stuckenberg accepted the offer, but suggested as subject *Tendencies of German Theology as Seen in Its Most Eminent Representatives*. However, as he then sailed for Germany, the lectures were not delivered.

The lecture season of 1877-78 brought, as guest to the Stuckenberg home, the poet Richard Realf, who delivered a series of addresses on temperance. Realf was an Englishman, with a volume of fine poems to his name, published in England, but an eccentric genius, whose career was shadowed by a great tragedy and who died by his own hand. He had been intimately associated with eminent men in the war period, had lived in Missouri during the wild period of the Kansas-Missouri struggle, in the slavery supporting part of the South, to gain there new states for the anti-slavery movement. As active Abolitionist, he had suffered hardship. He had been much in the society of John Brown; and when Brown worked out a plan of government to be established after freedom had been gained for the slaves, he designated Realf as Secretary of State. In Texas, Realf almost lost his life, narrowly escaping lynching by a mob. A young Southerner, slave-owner, saved him. Realf was a man of unquestioned literary ability. Leading magazines of the country gladly accepted his poems. His lectures on "John Brown," "Battle Flashes" and "Temperance" were considered among the most powerful delivered in his day. He wrote several poems in Stuckenberg's home, especially a beautiful one on "Little Children."

Among the friendships begun at this time and enduring through life, was that with Dr. I. K. Funk, a fellow Wittenberger, who had graduated from Wittenberg College and Seminary. Funk became a great publisher, sponsored projects of magnitude in publications, as a member of Funk

and Wagnall's Company, which enriched many a home with good books and periodicals, and not least in religious and theological lines. Funk published Stuckenberg's second major book *Christian Sociology* (1880) and employed him on the staff of *Homiletic Review* for fourteen years. This latter magazine was at first called *The Preacher and Homiletic Monthly*, and reached fully one-fourth of the clergy in America.

Many lasting friendships were formed by Stuckenberg on his vacation trips. He would usually go to Clifton Springs Sanatorium, N. Y., to seek, for a few weeks, complete change of scene under tonic conditions. He had intermittent attacks of rheumatism, brought on by exposure in the war. This health resort had been established by Dr. Henry Foster. It attracted large numbers of men and women of leadership in the higher pursuits from principal cities and institutions of learning. There Stuckenberg met and formed friendships with Dr. Martin B. Anderson, President of Rochester College (1853-88). Many missionary people came to Clifton Springs, where he became a life-long friend of Miss Ella G. Ives and Mrs. Louis C. Purrington. Croquet was one of the favorite pastimes on the grounds. Much amusement resulted from "psychic readings," harmless guess work. Stuckenberg was regarded as a wizzard in this playful analysis of character. Miss Ives, whose character Stuckenberg had "read," reciprocated by giving an analysis of Stuckenberg himself, which his wife found quite true to fact.

In 1875, he was surprised to get the degree of Doctor of Theology from Wooster, then called University of Wooster. President A. A. E. Taylor informed him of the action of the Board. Sprecher seems to have had his hand in this. Honorary degrees do not always come to men who deserve them. But Stuckenberg was a worthy recipient.

He kept in constant touch with the churches, traveled much, preached much. For many months he supplied the pulpit of the Second Presbyterian Church in Springfield. For nearly a year he also supplied First English Lutheran

Church in Cincinnati, which finally got as pastor H. W. McKnight, who later became President of Gettysburg College (1884-1904). Stuckenberg encouraged revivals, though not religious excitement. He also looked with favor upon the temperance movement led by Mrs. E. D. Stewart in Springfield, when the women would assemble in prayer, sometimes even in the saloons, to the chagrin of barkeepers. The liquor business was violating all decency in Springfield. Mrs. Stuckenberg was drawn accidentally into the praying group, and became a worker in it. Order was restored in Springfield, as in many other cities in Ohio. Prayer is not preaching or giving testimony. It is conversation with God. The women, not reflecting theologically, put no limitations to the answers to prayer. And they did not object to have liquor seller and consumers have a share in hearing their petitions. They were intensely serious about the whole matter. Ecclesiastics may have overruled their strategy as divinely improper. But somehow it brought about, they believed, visible results. In common language the movement was called the "Whiskey Crusade." Dr. Hamma was the outstanding man leader of it in Springfield. Sermons and addresses supported the Crusade and Stuckenberg, like many others, spoke publicly in its behalf for better order. He encouraged woman to assert herself in all noble walks of life, and especially for what gave protection to home, church, and community.

§ 3. Sponsor for the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society—Editor of the Lutheran Evangelist

There were in the General Synod several groups of women interested in missions, both east and west of Springfield. Among them was "The Sweet Home Missionary Society of Mt. Zion," in Xenia, near Springfield. It was organized in 1873, was composed of men and women, though women as well as men held offices in it. There were also two congregational societies connected with the Iowa Synod, then a small synod of 1100 members. With these



societies, the names of several pastors: J. F. Schaffer of Xenia, Ohio, J. K. Bloom of Orangeville, Ill., G. W. Snyder of Cedar Rapids, Ia., and A. I. Crigler of Des Moines, Ia., are associated as leaders. Rev. Cringler, spending a part of the summer of 1875 in Springfield, Ohio, at the home of his wife's relations, returned and organized a missionary movement in Iowa. These organizations were congregational.

However, there was as yet no Woman's Missionary Society of the General Synod. But the leaven was working in the General Synod Convention of 1877, at Carthage, Ill. Stuckenberg was present as a delegate from the Miami Synod. Women in Springfield, Ohio, had instructed him to plead the cause of Women's Missionary societies. When the Board of Foreign Missions presented its report at the synod in 1877, it made an appeal for "Organized Female Aid." Thereupon a resolution from the Springfield women was introduced by Stuckenberg to appoint a committee to consider the "Organization of Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Societies"; that is, of congregational groups. Mrs. G. W. Snyder had been elected to represent the Iowa society, a fact in itself full of interest and significance. The committee was appointed consisting of Stuckenberg as chairman, Schaffer, Snyder, S. B. Barnitz and Mr. A. Gebhart.

The committee reported that Women's *local* societies "should be formed"; they should again be formed into "synodical societies"; these again into a general association. The aim of these organizations was to spread missionary knowledge, create interest in this work, and secure funds to persecute it.

The committee further recommended that an executive committee be appointed, whose duty it should be to "promote the organization of said societies." This committee should "supervise" the societies organized. The pastors and churches were besought to make efforts to establish such societies; and the committee did especially appeal to the ladies of the church to act promptly and energetically



in the matter. But Stuckenberg had to combat and overcome opposition before the resolution was adopted, and also before the General organization was made possible. The power behind this whole movement in its incipency was he, the tactful chairman. He was supported by the strong missionary interest in Springfield, especially among the faculty and by Mrs. W. Gunn living in Springfield, widow of the first missionary to India. The fact that Morris Officer, the church's first missionary to Africa, had been trained at Wittenberg, was also an incentive. The main incentive, says Mrs. Stuckenberg, came from the minds and hearts of people on the Wittenberg campus.

In June, 1877, a Women's Missionary Society had been formed at Springfield, and the members there threw themselves heart and soul into the work of the *General* organization. Much preparatory labor was necessary before the wise and business-like organization of such a wide spread society could be accomplished. Mrs. Stuckenberg, in order to learn the best methods of procedure, obtained the entire output of literature of Women's Missionary Societies in the other denominations. She had faithful co-workers in preparing for the eventful and history-making convention at Canton (1879). One of the most interested of them was Rev. Dr. C. Anderson, head of the Swedish Mission Institute, Keokuk, Iowa, a school that had opened October 1, 1873, and was moved in 1875 to Knoxville, Ill. Anderson was editor of the Swedish church paper *Zions Baner*. From him Mrs. Stuckenberg got the idea, years before, of the General Organization. The ladies working for the project were given advice and help by Stuckenberg. He answered objections to the contemplated organization, and he presented the cause of the women at synods. He was present, giving counsel, at the meeting June 10, 1879, at Canton, Ohio, when the General Society was organized, but reported as "The Woman's Missionary Society." Stuckenberg, as chairman of a committee consisting of himself, G. F. Stelling, M. W. Hamma, A. Gebhart, all Wittenberg men, gave a complete survey of the status of the synods

with respect to women's societies. Here it is stated that the Iowa Synod has the honor "of having organized the first synodical and auxiliary Woman's Missionary Societies. The Synodical society was organized in 1875, since which time the amount collected annually for missions has been about \$60. The auxiliary societies are Cedar Rapids, Fairfield, Newton, and Elvira." Miami Synod in Ohio had an efficient synodical society. Wittenberg Synod had societies, but not synodical. Northern Illinois had a synodical society.

In the General Synod's endorsement of the new central society, the word "Women's" is changed to "Woman's"; the words "Home and Foreign" are inserted. "The thanks of the Synod were extended to Dr. Stuckenberg for his excellent service, and the expenses which he had incurred were ordered to be paid."<sup>13</sup>

Mrs. Stuckenberg was unanimously elected, at the Canton convention, the first president of the new organization. This was logical. She had taken the initiative, coöperating with her husband; she had worked zealously, corresponding much, traveling much—and continued to do so until she left for Europe.

Dr. Charles A. Stork, Secretary of the American Foreign Mission, called upon her the day following the convention at Canton to congratulate her upon her election, and assured her of his confidence in her ability. Already in 1880, the General Society reported 150 auxiliary societies and over 4000 members. Mrs. Stuckenberg resigned that summer, because of leaving for Europe. But she and her husband are the sponsors of Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the General Synod. More correctly, she is the mother of it.

As she left America to live for fourteen years in Europe, and as her early helpers gave the field to newer workers, or passed away, the genesis of this large, strong, and very active Society was gradually forgotten; at least was obscured through legend and speculation. Iowa persistently claimed the honor of the sponsorship; Ohio was more

gentle about asserting itself as the state that had taken the initiative, and Mrs. Stuckenberg was gone. It was not her way to assert herself for her own honor. However, she left, at her death, written papers clearly setting forth the beginnings of the Society and the real purpose of its organization, taking issue with contesting current claims.

In 1911 the General Synod appointed a committee to examine the relation of the W. H. and F. M. Society to the General Synod. The report of this committee is found on page 13 in the *Minutes of the General Synod*, 1913.

She made these marginal notes to this report. "So far as I know, I was the initiator of the several steps leading to the organization. I, at my own expense, bought up the entire literature of other Women's denominational mission societies and distributed, or rather loaned it, to the other ladies, chiefly Mrs. S. F. Breckenridge of Springfield."

To the patronizing statement of the Committee, which, indeed, took much for granted in asserting: "It is only just to say that such was the timidity and backwardness of the women in undertaking the work . . ." she laconically observes, "Such women could not have launched that work."

She also finds that the Committee unduly stressed the word "Auxiliary." The Committee says, "The word auxiliary is used"; the society was "to act as an 'auxiliary' to the Boards." It finds warrant for this interpretation: "She [Mrs. Stuckenberg] no doubt knew the mind of her husband on this subject." The Committee, however, did not seek information from Mrs. Stuckenberg. It did not know what was in her or her husband's mind. The Committee simply wanted to arrest the steady trend of the Society toward a co-ordination of relationship. The Society should be subordinate, dependent.

Mrs. Stuckenberg says that the *Society was not organized by the General Synod*. The Synod simply "assure[d] their recently organized central society" of its "heartly endorsement, pledging them to our cordial support." "Their" refers to the women.

The general organization was an organization of women.

The men were kept out of it, Mrs. Stuckenberg as president insisting that a paper prepared by a woman who was absent and wanted it to be read publicly by her husband, be read by a woman, which was done. The Society, she thought, as did her women colleagues, would be doomed to a feeble development if it did not get the right start.

When claims were made later that A. I. Crigler, J. K. Bloom, Rev. George W. Snyder, and David Tressler (who made no claim for himself) were the first promoters of this Missionary Society, these claims can only refer to local attempts. Three of these names are mentioned by the General Historian of the Society, agreeing with the paper *Christian Advance*, edited by George W. Snyder (*Minutes of 1899*).<sup>13</sup>

Mrs. Stuckenberg correctly claims that the W. H. F. M. Society was founded not in 1877 at Carthage, but in 1879 in Canton.

The latter meeting required much preparation and work. The women of Springfield did the work, Mrs. Stuckenberg directing it. Moreover, the western claimants got their ideas even for forming local societies from Springfield and its neighboring city of Xenia, which had a Society of this type for men and women already in 1873. Missions was a much moted theme in Springfield.

Professor G. H. Young of Wittenberg College, in an article in the *Lutheran Evangelist* dated Aug. 14, 1886, discusses the entire matter genetically; the part of Crigler and Snyder; and letters in possession of Mrs. J. W. Richard in Springfield, Ohio, sister of Dr. David Tressler in Carthage. He arrives at the inescapable conclusion: "Dr. Stuckenberg was the *prime mover*, soul and body of the matter in the movement at Carthage." Mrs. Stuckenberg, after the Canton meeting, he says, traveled for months in order to give personal supervision to the work of the large Society, and made use of the columns of the *Evangelist*, edited by her husband.

G. W. Snyder, in a letter to Stuckenberg June 3, 1879, states that *his* Society (Iowa) was formed in 1875. Refer-



ring to the forthcoming Canton convention, he writes: "We in Iowa are heartily with you." Letters exchanged by Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg while he was at the Synodical convention in Carthage, in 1877, show the status of the movement then. Springfield women had been having meetings for years, but first formally organized while the Synod was in session at Carthage, as a letter from Mrs. Stuckenberg to Stuckenberg addressed to Carthage during the Synod meeting indicates.

Stuckenberg early advocated that women should assert themselves in church work. As early as in 1875, he wrote to his wife that if the *Lutheran Evangelist* is started, he hoped "that you will be able to contribute to its columns in some way or other. The ladies of our church must be brought out more. They are not prominent enough in the great movement of the Church. Can you not do something in the matter?"

And when the *Lutheran Evangelist* was started, and he edited it, he pleaded the cause of the Woman's Missionary Society, in the issues of June 1 and 22; September 21 and 28; October 12—in 1877; also February 22 in 1878. This mainly through editorials. Such a procedure did not oppose the aim of the paper. "I was told by Dr. Shaffer that the original committee of the *Lutheran Evangelist* had two objects in view for special promotion: peace within the General Synod and to incite our Lutheran women to their share in denominational work."

A letter from Mrs. Stuckenberg to the *Altoona Tribune* (Altoona, Pa.) June 8, 1881, speaks of the organizing of the Society—as part of a lengthy article on Women's work. An interesting editorial accompanies it.

The well known Missionary Society was therefore born in Canton, Ohio, in 1879, and not at the synod in Carthage in 1877. Mrs. Stuckenberg in a note writes "Give Mrs. Snyder all the credit she deserves." But the latter did not attend the convention at Canton nor take part in the extensive work of preparation done by the Springfield women, nor in the collective work immediately following. How-

ever, the constitution of the new body followed to some extent that of the Iowa group.

One of the last articles that Stuckenberg wrote before his death was *Origin of the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society*, in the "Lutheran Observer" April 24, 1903. It gives due credit to the Iowa movement, but makes special mention of the burden of the work in making the General organization a going concern, for which he gives just, but impartial credit, to his wife and other women; also complimenting the Germans for having among their number some of the strongest advocates of the cause. This article was written from London when he had to trust his memory for details. It will be referred to again in a later chapter.<sup>14</sup>

The *Lutheran Evangelist* was the strong advocate of the Woman's Missionary Society. It also stood for peaceful constructive work along all lines within the General Synod Church. It was never a rival of the *Lutheran Observer*, but a co-operator and complement. The two papers differed as to one item: Diets. The editor of the *Observer* was inclined to favor them, but Stuckenberg opposed them: They would only re-open old controversies while now was the time for peaceful reconstructive work. The first number had appeared January 5, 1877. Dr. Sprecher was to be the editor, but he published only the first editorial and was prevented from continuing, owing to the burden of his other work. Stuckenberg then edited the paper for two years, receiving no salary. The paper was recognized as an educative power. When he resigned, Dr. J. G. Butler implored him to "take the helm again," in view of the appearance of some blundering articles. But Stuckenberg was delighted at the prospect of getting relief. No better revelation of his mind on church matters at this time can be found than his last editorial in the paper, and his *Farewell to the Evangelist*, under the date of October 24, 1879.

This paper, during his editorship, was eminent as a harmonizer within the General Synod. It contained a clear

statement of the position of this Synod, stood for harmony between Gettysburg and Wittenberg, steadily promoted the missionary interests of women; and every week it generally gave a column to missionary interests. Characteristic of Stuckenberg's position in his "Characteristic Differences between Lutherans," an article very rich in humor, and the "Lutheran Church and the Gospel."

He was deeply interested in Home Missions. The *Lutheran Observer*, May 24, 1878, contains an account of the First Home Mission convention of the Lutheran Churches connected with the General Synod, held in the English Lutheran Church of Omaha, March 19, 1878. Stuckenberg, as delegate from Ohio, participated in this convention. He especially advocated the revival of catechetical instruction and urged the publication of literature suited to children. He offered a series of resolutions to the convention which were adopted. The first resolved, that "we rejoice in the efforts which are made to establish Women's missionary societies in our churches." The others refer to the spread of missionary intelligence, and especially urge that Sunday school work give more prominence to "our mission work."

There was particularly one man at this time with whom he had most congenial correspondence, their letters being mutual exchanges of wit and humor, tonics to them both. It was David Loy Tressler, the able president of Carthage College, a trained jurist, who was removed by death in 1880.

#### § 4. Solicitousness for Others—Resignation

During his professorship, Stuckenberg had to withstand tempting offers to other spheres of work. Colleges and Seminaries of other denominations in the larger cities of the East "approached" him. Several churches farther West were disappointed in not being able to secure him as pastor. Both Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Lancaster, Ohio, wanted him. But he thought it his duty to train minis-

ters. He had real sympathy for the college boys. In 1875 he paid as much as he could of the \$500 he owed to the Miami Synod, so that the money could be used to advantage for others. He also gave \$200 to the Wittenberg Alumni Association.

He wanted education to reach as many as possible. He therefore championed co-education, and was Wittenberg's foremost man in doing so. Several young women came as a result of this, to the school, also some married ones. Mrs. Stuckenberg was one of them. But they had no dormitory accommodations. The catalogue for 1876-77, therefore, states that "Ladies are received as day students . . . Thus far, with us, the Co-education of sexes has been eminently successful, and has, in all respects, been fully satisfactory. We invite to our institution all young ladies who prefer a solid to a superficial education." In faculty, he fought to a finish for the admittance of Negroes, and won the battle, whose immediate result was the immediate advent of only two of the swarthy race. He opposed all attempts to use endowment money for other purposes than those stipulated.

When the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. Sprecher's Presidency of the College occurred, Stuckenberg enlisted the coöperation of the people most interested, sent out a circular to get money in order to present it as a token of appreciation to the esteemed teacher, for his great labor and sacrifices. S. A. Boatman of Springfield, J. B. Helwig and Alexander Gebhart of Dayton, added their signatures to the document, to which a generous response was given. The Doctor was presented with a well filled purse. He was relieved of his administrative work, and henceforth gave all his time to the teaching of theology, Dr. J. B. Helwig becoming the new president. These were the days of minimum salaries for College presidents and professors; and no one but an intimate knew of the anxiety and forethought employed to overcome the deadening effect of unremitting toil, sometimes with little encouragement as reward, to keep the home happy, inspiring, and refined. Mrs.



Sprecher retained to the end of her life—she died in 1879—many of the characteristics of the southern people, a peculiar type of loyalty and hospitality to friends, together with a thorough appreciation of the work in which her husband was engaged. Mrs. Stuckenberg was treated like a daughter in the Sprecher home and was intimately acquainted with its joys and sorrows. She always praised the Sprechers in the highest terms.

Stuckenberg was fond of his old teacher. He did not look upon him as a “great teacher”; but in his mind, no one surpassed the doctor in kindling and inspiring the minds of students. He liked to quote Dr. Dorner of Berlin, who spoke in great praise of Sprecher’s “Groundwork,” called him *wissenschaftlich gediegen* and classed him with minds like those of Professor Fisher of Yale and Professor H. B. Smith of Union. To Sprecher, again, Dorner was about the last word in Theology. Stuckenberg, on leaving Wittenberg, stored his books in boxes with Sprecher, who was overjoyed at what he found in them in Systematic Theology, including the works of Dorner.

During his last years at Springfield, Stuckenberg’s intimate friends had reason to be alarmed as to the state of his health. Violent headaches with purple flush of face were increasing in frequency, and attacks of rheumatism would at times make his right arm useless. Medical friends advised him to seek immediate change. His labor was heavy and extensive. He needed rest and change. He asked the Board for a leave of absence. Finding it embarrassed, he resigned his professorship and closed his work at Wittenberg with the collegiate year in 1880. There was much protest when this became known, but his health demanded the change. The large libraries of the old world made it easier for him to be drawn across the sea, and this thought made him all the firmer in adhering to his purpose in the face of protests and regrets. After seven years of happy coöperation with all departments of the College, he took his leave; the less sorrowful, as he thought his absence from Wittenberg would not be a long one, and that, in a

year or two, he would be back to resume his work. Little did he dream that his sojourn abroad was to last fourteen years.

"It is with great pleasure we await his return," said the College paper *The Wittenberger*, of October, 1880, in commenting on the work he had done at Wittenberg College.

#### § 5 Ecclesiastical Unrest—Changes at Wittenberg College

It was a distinct token of creative thought at Wittenberg that two works in systematic theology were published in 1879-80. One was the *Groundwork of a System of Evangelical Theology*, by Samuel Sprecher (pp. iv. + 502). The other was *Christian Sociology* by Stuckenberg (pp. v + ii + 379). There was a speculative trend, much of the spirit of Dorner, in both. Dorner felt the need of having Christian religion and philosophy work hand in hand in theology. Therefore, theology, according to him, was not to be limited to what has been called the second creation (Christ and the Spirit); it was also to include the first (God as Creator). It should make applications not only of the final stage of revelation in Christ, but also of the preceding revelation in nature and history. Divine revelation had reached its center and zenith in Christ, in whom there, therefore, was divine nature. In Him, the unity of God and man, the summit of the world plan had been reached. The personality of Christ was the sum of the two natures. Christ was thus not the logos person or a human person, but a divine-human personality—according to R. Seeberg's view of Dorner's theology.

While neither of the Wittenberg volumes aimed at being anything epochal, and while both were open to criticism, there was a refreshing wholesomeness and liberality about them that invited attention. Both gave promise of greater unfolding of potent authorship. But Wittenberg was not to see this blossom forth within its own gates. It was still suffering, financially. There was little to inspire and much to endure for the teachers in the years immedi-

ately following. There were but very few students in theology and there were plans to move the College away from Springfield. Dr. Sprecher wrote to Mrs. Stuckenberg toward the close of the year 1881: "The number of theological students is ten. It is likely that the College will be removed to Mansfield." However, promises of financial aid from the local citizenry retained it for Springfield.

But changes were taking place within. Dr. Sprecher retired in 1885, at the age of 75. He was made professor emeritus and went West. His absence was felt by the student body of 200. President J. B. Helwig, one of the best preachers in the Synod, left the presidency in 1882, and later also the Lutheran church, to become pastor in the Presbyterian Church. Lutheran students in Minneapolis would frequently attend his services in the Presbyterian church in that city. Dr. S. A. Ort, who had become professor of the College in 1880, succeeded him as president and held this position till 1900; though he remained professor of theology till 1910. He was a man of force and native ability, who corresponded much with Stuckenberg, especially in the eighties, and begged him repeatedly to come back to Wittenberg. Professor J. W. Richard came from Carthage College to Wittenberg Seminary in 1885, going later to the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. He shared many of Stuckenberg's views.

In 1885, Wittenberg seemed to be swinging to what was regarded as extremely conservative; Luther A. Gotwald becoming pastor in Springfield in 1885, and professor in the Seminary in 1888. In 1892, "The World" was founded to serve as spokesman for the conservatives, and, in 1893, the trial of Dr. Gotwald took place. Sad and amusing and useless as this trial was—it was a solemn-comic farce from beginning to end—it was interpreted as defeat for the liberals. The organized church was trembling with agitation and ran high fevers, sometimes liberal and sometimes conservative. Small wonder, if that be true which Dr. E. J. Wolf, of Gettysburg Seminary said in 1890, in reference to

Heinrich Schmid's *Die Dogmatik*, translated into English: "And whatever may have been the case in the past, the specific doctrines of the Lutheran Confessions are today taught explicitly and *ex animo* in all the theological schools connected with the General Synod. The standard reference book in each of them is Schmid's *Theology of the Lutheran Church*."

Reinhold Seeberg, of the University of Berlin, author of a large History of Doctrine, translated into English by the same C. A. Hay who had helped H. E. Jacobs to translate Schmid's Dogmatics, rubricated Schmid's volume under *theologische Repristination*. Seeberg held that it was proper to go back to the sources of the Reformation, but a mistake to seek them in the theology of the 17th century, "petty, juridical, unhistorical" as the spirit of that century was. "Theologians permitted the 17th century to prescribe for them the theory of verbal inspiration." They had rediscovered positive faith in the hymns and devotional books of that century and thought they were bound to accept also its theology. The confusion is markedly shown in the title of Schmid's book. *The Dogmatics*, making the dogmatics of the seventeenth century *the* dogmatics of the Lutheran Church, and confounding Gerhard, Calovius, and Quenstedt as sources with those of the Reformation. Thus far Seeberg.

Practically all the seminaries in the Lutheran Church in America got their cues from Schmid. This was Romanticism. It was not the "New Lutheranism" of Samuel Schmucker, which was half Reformed; not the Lutheranism of Sprecher, Stuckenberg, J. A. Brown, M. Valentine, J. W. Richard, who all five were neither "New Lutherans" after the fashion of Schmucker, nor "Old Lutherans" after the image of Schmid.

There was much partisan spirit shown in the controversy that raged—for it did rage—and much misunderstanding. The intellectualization of doctrine took its heavy toll. Men suffered amidst it all. And yet there were earnest efforts made to find religious truth, without compromising, and



peace without being untruthful. The worst feature was that some sought to make their intellect and conscience binding for others. Under these conditions, the science of theology suffered much, and the organized Church more. Stuckenberg was away during this time, but he could not avoid being drawn into the strife. He showed what the leading German theologians of the nineteenth century were teaching, busy as he was in the threefold field of theology, philosophy, and sociology; making original contributions to all three. His continued stay at Wittenberg College, or at almost any other church college in the United States, in the eighties, would have made contributions of this kind impossible, or, at least, extremely difficult.

§ 6. Pioneer in Christian Sociology—Is there a Social Gospel?

Years before he published his *Christian Sociology* (New York: I. K. Funk & Co., 1880), Stuckenberg had lectured on the subject bearing this name, and the subject grew at his hands. Comte and Spencer had written on Sociology, but were "serving infidelity." Society, he said, should be evangelized in the light of the New Testament. A Christian sociology should be created. He was aware of books somewhat related to the subject written by Jos. Angus, F. D. Maurice, and others. But they were not works on Christian Sociology, which name he held, was his own creation. The New Testament was in his mind the regulative factor in this work. He found the Gospel very rich in "sociological truth," and held that the "ethics of the New Testament should test all social theories." Why should worldly philosophy or political economy have the sole right to do it? he asked. Education, politics, capital and labor should be discussed in the light of the Gospel, which, he conceded, did not give direct answers to many social questions, but contained principles for their answers.

He liked to quote the French historian Francois Guizot, who was of the opinion that social perfection could never be brought about by political institutions: the Gospel was

necessary for this. Stuckenberg contended that Christianity was a mighty social power and that Christian Sociology must be based on it, or the Bible. The Bible taught that the Church visible "is a Christian society" or "has Christian society in it." But the Church is, he added, only a form of Christian society, the latter being broader, because it embraces only believers. Jesus founded it, and it is a model. In Christ's example, he averred, we have the first practical application of Christian Sociology. Christ was not a specific model for all relations, but He gave principles. He was no politician, but the principles of government are given by Him. He came to establish the kingdom, or this society—on earth, by means of truth. This kingdom is ruled by the Gospel. John presents Jesus as a divine philosopher [sic], and Paul philosophizes about sin [sic]. Therefore, the Gospel is for philosophers, as well as for governments.

If the Church, Stuckenberg continues, embraced Christians only, it should be synonymous with Christian society. Zwingli's invisible church is the same as Christian Society. If all Christians would be brought together, the sight would be imposing. Spiritual unity would then be manifest. The state must protect this Society, but not use coercion. The Society must become visible. Thus the book.

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Christian Sociology was ever a favorite subject with Stuckenberg. In substance he always maintained the ideas just stated above. In a later book, *The Social Problem*, he crystallized the subject as Philosophy of Christian Society, though he often called it the Science of Christian Society. In 1901, at McCormick Seminary, he related that in the Boston Library twenty-three books were classified under "Christian Sociology," and that *Biblia Sacra* had a symposium on the term. The new subject had thus won widespread recognition, it was his opinion.

The aspirations in *Christian Sociology* are commendable. The question is, whether Christ was a model for social rela-

tions; whether his Church can ever be made visible; whether the Gospel has regulations for social and political life. In *His Steps*, by C. M. Sheldon, affirms the question. And there was also much affirmation at the "Christian Conference on Life and Work," held in 1925 in Stockholm. Even Dr. Söderblom worked for its affirmation and questioned the correctness of Luther's explanation of "Thy kingdom come," in the Catechism, as exclusively referring to an invisible kingdom, or the church invisible. Adolf Stöcker, Rudolf Tott, Martin von Nathusius, Friedrich Naumann tried to affirm it in practice, through their social organizations in politics.<sup>15</sup>

Stuckenberg deserves praise for objecting to what he calls the "infidel" interpretation of society given by Comte and Spencer. He would have gladly greeted a man like Othmar Spann for attacking the causal-mechanistic explanation of Society and for defending the *geisteswissenschaftliche* approach to it. He would have agreed with him in calling F. H. Gidding's *Principles of Sociology* a "mixture of mechanical, organic and psychological concepts." And he would have disdainfully scorned that view which holds that theology cannot be carried on scientifically without having physical and biological sciences as pilots, indeed knowing their own waters, but not those foreign to them.

But why go to the other extreme? Many Reformed groups hold that the Church must socialize things, correct governments, and that Christianity is its authority and source for doing so. The Catholic Church does not hesitate to write "Christian" Sociologies, "Christian" schemes of economics, and "Christian" everything. It assumes to itself the supervision of all things, even the kitchen menu on Fridays and in Lent: and all in the name of Christ. Why should a Protestant tread the same path, even if more softly?

Now, most Lutherans in Europe and especially the *Hofprediger* have taught that the Church is invisible, and must not effect or affect the social order. Yet, they make this Church, the object of faith, a tangible thing, and in the name of the invisible church dictate a hands-off policy to

the visible church, congregation, synod or state church, which all are, as Sohm says, "weltliche Organisation," and not church.

Stuckenberg's Social Gospel is not wrong for being collective, or realistic or ethically enthusiastic. It is dogmatically wrong—wrong in the *basis* of this enthusiasm. For the ideas of the kingdom result in the ethics of testimony, not rulership. There is no Christian Sociology any more than a Christian State. Bismarck used stronger words about the Gospel and Christianity in his younger days than did Guizot. But the more he saw of life, the more he forsook those ideas as untenable. Judging Stuckenberg's *Christian Sociology* by Luther, as interpreted by the eminent modern scholarship of men like Rudolph Sohm, Otto Scheel, Erich Foerster, Rudolf Oeschey, Heinrich Frick, Friedrich Flemming, Franz Rendtorff—its main contentions must fall.

The Catholic Church claims for itself that it is a *vera perfecta societas*. Pius IX condemns the statement that the *ecclesia non est vera perfectaue societas*. He ascribes this perfection to the Roman Catholic Church. However, there is no authority for proclaiming it of any visible church or society. Friedrich Naumann, for whom Stöcker was too narrow in theology and too antisemitic, at the beginning of his endeavors for his own political social party regarded Jesus as the friend of the poor and the enemy of Mammon. He at the first believed that social conditions could be reshaped with the aid of the moral forces of Christianity. But he, perceiving more and more, as Dr. Herz has shown, the tremendous difference between the world and the New Testament, with its primitive, economic order, and the complicated industrial conditions of today, was convinced that no regulations could be obtained from the Gospel for a social program. He departed more and more from his original social enthusiasm and approached an increasing secularization of the socio-political. Herz adds, that the man in all likelihood who showed him that the Gospel is not a regulation for secular matters, was Rudolph Sohm.<sup>16</sup>



The second part of *Christian Sociology* discusses Social Ethics, much of the material being of the same order as that which is found in contemporary text books on theological ethics. As the work finds a Christian system of ethics, both personal and social in the New Testament, it uses the New Testament as a source. To Stuckenberg this is the simpler and more satisfactory way of finding the basis of Ethics than the epistemological way. The problem of independence of ethical judgment was not yet up for discussion. Of course, he rejected Greek eudemonism, also the pragmatic view of Thomas Aquinas, who taught one should do good in order to earn salvation: Morality was here the means, and salvation the reward. Kant did not concern Stuckenberg much in this book, though Kant created the formula for what Paul and Luther had conquered within practical-ethical life. Kant's slogan was autonomy of the will, but his ethics became rigorism and savored too much of Sinai to be free as the ethics of Paul and Luther. His doctrine about the supreme good and the practical postulate opened the back door for the re-entry of eudemonism, and the independency of Ethics failed. Kant became inconsistent and leaned rather much to the Jewish conception, that unethical relations follow unethical deeds (Psalm 1), ending in the problem of Job, who could find no answer to the question, "Why do the good fare poorly?" Paul and Luther, however, give the answer.<sup>17</sup>

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Without Stuckenberg's knowledge, a London publisher published a new edition of 2000 copies of his *Christian Sociology*. Looking about, in 1881, in London for a publisher of his *Life of Immanuel Kant*, he saw a copy of his new edition in a bookshop. He was astonished and happy that England appreciated his book.

The volume was much reviewed in the American press. It also received reviews in Canada and England. About fifty reviews from newspapers and church journals are lying before the author of this book. They are brief as a

rule, kind and appreciative, many enthusiastic, but practically all are more or less uncritical. Two, rather unfavorable, come from the agnostic approach.

It was not Stuckenberg's strongest book; but it was a pioneer, blazing a new trail, presenting much good theology, with some fine Luther quotations interspersed, rather marginal to the aim of the whole. But this fact remains: Christianity, the Gospel, the Church—all mean the same thing in Luther's language—cannot reform the world or preach the social gospel. This, however, does not imply that much reformatory work cannot be done by what our age calls church, the "visible" church. For, it is not the body of Christ. The life of Christ which is in it, but also outside of it, is "his" "body", not confined to time or space, not tangible or demonstrable to natural man. Christianity, of course, exempts no Christian from civic righteousness, though it does not make civic righteousness a part of Christianity. This righteousness is justice, coercive, and differs from the righteousness *given* by God to man. The great power in Christianity is not justice, which was the leading virtue among the Romans. It is "agape", love.

The "visible" "church" (which is not church) can co-operate with the state in many things. It can lend collective support to social, political, and economic matters, as far as expediency and general welfare permit. Separation between state and "church", in this meaning, is not a demand of Luther. But this does not change the fact, that Christianity, or Church, as the New Testament knows it, cannot affect or effect social order. To speak of a social gospel in the meaning of social reform, is to misuse the term "gospel", which only relates to the Eternal. The same holds true of Christianity as taught by Jesus and Paul, differing very much from a Christianity juridically organized into tangible entities, institutions, priesthods, churches of today. The real church had no social order, created by collective will or majorities. Luther's separation between church and state was not the separation between church and state as known in the sociologies of today. It was a

separation between the spiritual order of persuasion, and the temporal order of coercion. Stuckenberg's above advanced claim, that if all the Christians would be gathered together in one place, this would constitute the visible church, is Zwingli's, not Luther's teaching. For, according to Luther, as Scheel says, a visible "Darstellung" of the Church of the New Testament, or kingdom of God, is an impossibility.

The Christian will make use of all the channels he can, for promoting the good. Whether he will make a special use of the visible church in so doing, is to be determined by his reason. Reason chooses the way and method. But Christianity is the vitalizing drive of love, also in the use of temporal things.

Stuckenberg's great enthusiasm for the "social gospel" is entirely warrantable; only, the dogmatics of it is wrong.

His book anticipated the principles of the COPEC programs in England, where, if reprinted today, it would still—or again—meet with considerable welcome. It would perhaps also meet with welcome among the majority of Lutherans in America, where the Lutheran concept of church has largely given way to the Anglo-American view. This view has just as firm a grip on the group which teaches that the *visible church must* reform society, as on the other group that advocates a hands-off policy for the *visible church*, on the assumption that the visible church is a *Darstellung*, or representation, of the real, invisible church of God, which church—and no other—is taught from cover to cover in the Book of Concord (R. Oeschey, *Bekenntnis und Verfassung*, in "Luthertum", June, 1935).

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Stuckenberg was not the first American to call attention to a "Christian" Sociology. The report of the delegates of the Synod of Central Illinois about the General Synod at Washington in 1869, calls the *convention* of the synod the "kingdom of God," the "kingdom not of this world," and explains "that the germ of the noblest science yet to be

constructed is *in* the Gospel; and that this noblest science yet unconstructed is the *science of human sociality!*"

Luther, without any doubt, would have been greatly astonished at such claims. To him it would have seemed preposterous and bordering on blasphemy for any visible church organization, congregation or synod or national church, to make the claim of being the "kingdom of God" or the "kingdom not of this world," and to assign predicates of lower value to the state or any other groups appertaining to the social order, without which men as human beings cannot peacefully live together. Luther would have said: You—state and church, are both "world". He would have directed them to one of the greatest writings he ever wrote: *Vom Papsttum zu Rom* (1520) and its complement *Ad librum Mag. Ambrosii Catharini responsio* (1521), translated into English by Henry Cole, under the title of *Pope Confounded and His Kingdom Exposed*. Pp. 180, London, 1836.

The General Synod was confused as to the nature of Church. The same confusion reigned in the General Council and all the other American Lutheran church bodies, in varying degrees. This confusion had made its entry into the European Lutheran Church in the eighteenth century. It had increased among the Lutheran emigrants in America and their children and children's children. Stuckenberg shared it, like the rest. The "Book of Concord" which he rejected, he could have used with terrific effect against the General Council which accepted the entire book. He could have also applied it to his own General Synod and taught it what the Augsburg Confession teaches about the Church, that teaching which, as stated above, permeates the entire Book of Concord from cover to cover.

Who knew that at that time? The new Luther-research was then unknown, and the age would not have been ready for it. No particular individual or church body was to blame. Truth shares with error the fate of being rejected. Rejection may or may not be malicious; too often it is due to an insufficient knowledge of facts or to inability to grasp



a truth without having false visions of disastrous consequences, which result in fear of the "new". This "new" may be old and stable, the old having become unrecognizable as the centuries passed by. Professor Albert Hauck, like Leopold Ranke, taught that the history of the world is not moved by the well-considered decisions and accidental acts of individual men. An evolution of spiritual forces and tendencies is at work, by which the individual persons are always carried along, no matter how strong they are.

Hauck, like Ranke, does not undertake to define these superpersonal forces. For, historical-social reality is also, according to Hauck, the world of the irrational. The irrational cannot be put into a form. It can not be rationalized. No form can be found for the relation between individuals and tendencies. For, individuals, too, are more than mere conductors of forces. Here is where the riddle of life appears. It can be described, but not explained. Hence Hauck as a rule makes situations responsible for the acts of men. There are forces at work in history. And History is not a series of accidental acts, but a combination of necessity and liberty.

Why the inability to understand what the Book of Concord teaches about Church, fifty years ago? Why the inability now? The correct teaching is coming more to the foreground in Germany. The outsider ascribes it to Nazi dominion, and says there is little room for the kingdom of God in "Naziland". There is, however, room for preaching the Gospel, and no restrictions are put upon this preaching. But when a social or political gospel is voiced from the pulpit, in the name of Christ, the government can step in. The German state has for generations not insisted on *jus in sacra*; but it has insisted, and still does so, on *jus circa sacra*. No brief for Germany is attempted here; but there may be reason to fear that the Anglican world and its millions of cousins at times give credit to Nazi (that is, blame them) for views that are entertained by Luther and the Book of Concord, and men like Sohm and Scheel.

Our age is an age of surprises, swift and sudden. The July Conference at Oxford, of 1937, steeped in "social minded" Christianity and Copec reform, was surprised to hear no less a man than Emil Brunner say (quoting *New York Times*, of July 15): "The Christian Church has no right to try to lay down a social program, because it is not her business to try to establish any kind of a system." "Brunner further expressed grave doubts that a system of Christian ethics could be defined." Those who know Brunner and his many works, also know that he has expressed much gratitude for new viewpoints which he has received from Rudolph Sohm.

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## CHAPTER XVI

### In Berlin: First Period

(1880-1886)

§ 1. Writing on Kant—New Friends—The Chapel—The American Legation—Death of Mother—Memorial Service for Garfield

FOR the eighth time Stuckenberg crossed the Atlantic. His destination was the capital of the German Empire, the home of the University of Berlin; a city of great libraries, museums of art and archeology; of hospitals, clinics, and laboratories of research; of conservatories and theatres; of the Royal Opera House and the Cathedral: a metropolis of manufacturing and commerce; the greatest railroad centre in Europe. It was the seat of Germany's central government and of Prussia's, dotted with diplomats and bristling with soldiers. It was the residence of the trio of Emperor William I, General Moltke, and Chancellor Bismarck, who had unified Germany. It was the clinic of social democracy, eager to denationalize and internationalize; of Court Preacher Adolf Stöcker and his Christian-social followers, who combated the views on historical philosophy or economic history championed by Carl Marx. It was a city of grand churches, but too few to meet the real needs of the people. Berlin symbolized the grandeur of the new Empire. To stay there was an event.

The Stuckenbergs—they had no children—left New York in August, 1880, for Hamburg, in the ship *Wieland*, then considered a "sea monster", though it was less than 400 feet long. They were accompanied by three young ladies from Ohio, who were entrusted to their care and education abroad. Arrived at Berlin, they got temporary quarters in North Behrens Street and moved, in January, 1881, to Hegel Platz II, so-called because of a monument of Hegel near by.

The length of stay in Germany was at first planned for a year or two, during which time Stuckenberg desired to write a History of Theology. Since, however, the 100th anniversary of the appearance of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* was to be celebrated in 1881, he centered his efforts on writing an English biography of Kant. He had all the sources he needed for this work in the Berlin libraries. He loved philosophy, was a strong systematic thinker, and had studied philosophy under men like Erdmann, Trendelenburg, Lotze, Ulrici, and Ritter. His favorite theologians of the thought provoking type, especially Dorner, were schooled in philosophy and often had their *Auseinandersetzungen* with the *Fachphilosophen*. His articles on Fichte and Herder in the *Evangelical Review*, in 1861, showed that he was no dilettant in the philosophical field. He was also trained in history. That had been demonstrated by his large *History of the Augsburg Confession* and by articles about historians. It suffices to mention the one on August Neander in the "Lutheran Quarterly", April, 1880, also published as reprint. In order to write a Life of Kant he had to combine philosophy and history, and he was at home in both. Stuckenberg was versatile, this word not being limited in this case to knowledge of belletristic literature. For of Stuckenberg at the end of his Berlin period of fourteen years—two years became fourteen—it could be said what W. Tudor Jones said of Max Weber: "The findings of Jurisprudence, Philosophy, History, Social and Political Economy, and Religion were all familiar to him." Some allowance may be made for the claim to Jurisprudence. Here Weber knew more of this; but Stuckenberg, on the other hand, was better versed in theology. Stuckenberg did not care much for current legislation, excepting when it had to do with the labor questions and other kindred social questions. But he was at home in the field of International Law and Philosophy of Law.

Then, he had an ever absorbing mind. Most savants have made up their minds and shaped their systems at forty-five. Luther has been praised by Heinrich Boehmer as



one of the exceptions to this. Some of this praise, we venture to say, is also due to Stuckenberg. His intense creative period began about 45. Philander C. Knox gave happy expression to his interest in the fact that Stuckenberg at the age of 45, could ignore the diminution of his savings and go to Berlin without prospects of income.

Berlin had, in 1880, 1,100,000 inhabitants. Of these, 80% were classified as Protestants, 15% as Catholics, and 5% as Jews. The American colony was in its inception, though there was a constant stream of graduate students coming from America to continue their studies in the University, also many came for the study of music.

Andrew D. White was United States Ambassador to Germany, in 1877-1882, leaving a most enviable memory in Berlin, as scholar and diplomat. Stuckenberg and he became friends. They frequently met, especially in the book shops, and their wives would meet at teas. An invitation, dated October 19, 1880, was one among several: "Mrs. White and my daughter will be at home this afternoon at 4½ o'clock and happy to see the ladies as well as yourself, should you have time to call. Very truly yours, And. D. White." Thanksgiving Day was an annual event for celebration among the Americans in Berlin. Stuckenberg was sometimes toastmaster, more often responder to a toast, at these celebrations, with flags and eagles for symbols, and turkey and cranberries on the menu. A. Sidney Everett, Secretary of the Legation, wrote about such a celebration in a long letter to Stuckenberg in November, 1881, stating he had consulted with Mr. Brewer, the General Consul: He had started the subscription list at the Legation. He hoped to be able to limit the expense, including music and all but wines, to 6 marks "to suit small purses." "I propose to manage the speechifying as we did last year, between the different courses, which will prevent anybody being too long-winded, and from sitting so long over the table, which is so tiresome. I should be glad to consult with you about the order of performances, but do not see the need of any formal committee."

The Americans who were connected with the Legation and those who studied at the University or the conservatories, mostly all of whom attended public worship at the American chapel, which was soon to become Stuckenberg's charge, formed a little America by itself in Berlin. Stuckenberg could not be a mere onlooker. Therefore he also tutored, when otherwise not too busy; and almost every summer he would head a group, touring Europe. This kept his purse from getting altogether empty. There was also some income from the families that had given Mrs. Stuckenberg the authority of a mother over their daughters.

During their first summer in Berlin, religious services were held in English in the Methodist Church, in Junkerstrasse 5-6. Bishop Waldo of Cincinnati preached to the Methodist Germans, but in English, through the pastor as interpreter. Stuckenberg, being a visitor, was told that after the German services, a union service was held in English. But there was no call for English services in the summer months. There was a demand for them during the cooler part of the year. He was further told that Rev. George Palmer Davies, a Congregational pastor from England and Director of the British and Foreign Bible Society for Germany and Switzerland, preached once a month at the second (English) service, securing other preachers for the remaining Sundays of the month.

When the University opened in fall, Rev. Davies appeared in the pulpit. He soon got to know Stuckenberg who, after the death of Rev. Davies, in April, 1881, was elected in the following autumn to succeed him as member on the committee on preaching. Stuckenberg had been preaching for weeks. From now on, he did most of the preaching himself, which led to his being permanently chosen as pastor of the church. To all intents he was its pastor, though "acting pastor" the first six years, from the fall of 1880 to 1894. To him this was a field of large opportunities. Thousands of American students hold the American church in Berlin in sacred remembrance as a gathering of hallowed influence which made itself felt when they especially stood

in need of the guidance and support that they otherwise would have missed, being so far away from their home, in the midst of thinkers and artists, some of whom, in their devotion to art and thought, cared little for conventional ties and especially challenged the *Weltanschauung* of the Puritan bred.

And the genesis of the church? Hon. Theodore S. Fay, of the American Legation, a man of eminent Christian influence, was one of its earliest members. Dr. Frank P. Abbot, of the dental profession, who became his son-in-law, was another of its early members. In those days there were not many American students abroad. Consequently the group was small. Ex-Governor Joseph A. Wright, of Indiana, who arrived in 1857 as American Minister to the Court of Prussia, was an ardent Methodist; and he and his wife fostered a Methodist Mission in Berlin. Both attended the religious gatherings of the Americans.

The first record extant dates from the year 1857. The chapel in Jägerstrasse was built under the influence of Mr. Wright. In the winter of 1865, Stuckenberg preached there several times, as also did Professor C. M. Mead and D. W. Simon. During the seventies, the records of the American religious gatherings bear the names of eminent Americans who served as members of the church committee, such as John Bigelow, Elihu Root, Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, Bancroft Davis, Henry Marquand, Henry Van Dyke, Arthur Hadley, late President of Yale, Phillips Brooks, and Seth Lowe.

And the salary? Up to December, 1881, it was the humble sum of fifteen marks a Sunday; when it was increased to twenty! In 1886, it was decided that the fixed salary should be \$1,000. Later Stuckenberg received up to \$1,400 a year.

Up to the beginnings of the eighties, one did not speak of an American colony in Berlin, since the only permanent American residents in the city were Dr. Frank Abbot, Dr. Willoughby D. Miller, and Dr. Alonzo Sylvester, with their families. Of course, there was the American Lega-

tion, consisting of Dr. Andrew D. White, and the secretaries Sidney Everett and Mr. Coleman; also Herman Kreisman, who was still Consul General. But with the change of administration, White and Kreisman were superseded by Aaron A. Sargent as Minister, and Mark Brewer as Consul General.

American students would come to the Legation for advice, or to Dr. Abbot, or to his son-in-law, Dr. Miller, who was professor of dentistry in the University. They were regarded as an "information bureau." They were also the pillars of the little church. The Abbot family, above all others, was the one with whom Stuckenberg was most intimate. Its cheerful and hospitable home, with its many distinguished visitors was a perpetual source of inspiration for him. Scholastically, however, he derived at the beginning of his stay in Berlin most from associating with Dr. Andrew D. White. One day the latter took him to one of his favorite resorts, the auction room of Lepke's, where rare and interesting finds of all sorts were sold. Dr. White himself was a collector and great bookbuyer, a man whose wealth and scholarship gave to Cornell University \$300,000 and his historical library, of more than 40,000 volumes. In the course of his many years of residence in the capital, Stuckenberg repeated the visit to Lepke hundreds of times, the result of which was his collection of maps, paintings, and other beautiful objects of art.

It had been while touring Europe in 1872-73 that news came to him about his father's sickness and death. Before he ended his first year in Berlin, news—it reached him January 8, 1881—of the same kind arrived about his mother. She died in December, 1880. He knew that she had been ill, but she had been reported better and he hoped she would recover.

"The sad news overwhelmed me completely. The thought that I should never see again her whom I so deeply loved and who loved me so tenderly, was too much for me. The tears flowed freely. At 11:30 I was to preach in the American chapel, but I felt that I could not do so. I therefore



went to ask Rev. Davies to preach. He was not prepared, but finally consented, reluctantly, to do so. After returning to my room and consulting Mary, I concluded that I had better try and preach and let Rev. Davies conduct all the other services. Mary went to see him, and this arrangement was made. I feared I might break down, but got away finely—though my tone was more tender than usual. Text: John 15:11. I closed by saying that I could call on the congregation to rejoice in the Lord, though the saddest news of my life had reached me that morning. . . . Of course, Mother was often in my thoughts during the day. Her memory is sweet. She was devotedly pious and had sublime trust in God. She was ready and anxious to go. Being barely eighty-one and very feeble and sickly, she had done with the joys of the earth. Death was a great blessing to her, and that makes her departure less grievous. I am greatly indebted to her, especially for my religious impressions. As her devoutness was equalled by her sincerity, her piety was healthy and attractive. . . . Father died in November, 1872, when I was in Dresden; and now Mother has died while I am also away from America. After return from the Chapel I remained in the house all day. Mary and I took supper in our room, not caring to be with the family and boarders in the dining room. . . . I thank God for the example and memory of my Dear, Sainted Mother. Since her death, Heaven has a new attraction."

A few days later, a letter from his sister Eliza caused him to confine to his diary the following: "When I opened it, I saw a lock of Mother's hair. This affected me very deeply. Mother died peacefully. But Eliza gives no particulars in the letter, as her tears made it impossible. She was buried in the cemetery on Walnut Hill (Cincinnati), where Father is buried, or rather the body was temporarily put in a vault. The funeral was on Christmas Day. The text of the funeral discourse was II Tim. 4:7-8, a text selected by Mother herself. The text was admirably adapted to the occasion."

This glimpse into his heart shows the emotional side of

Stuckenberg. Strong men sometimes let their tears flow, as the history of a Paul, a Luther, a Bismarck, shows.

He was working hard at his book. Ernst Balfour Box, of England, called on him. Box was preparing for "Bohn's Standard Library" a book on Kant's Life and Philosophical Views. This call did not disturb him, because Box "has done scarcely anything, and as I have done so much I shall seek a publisher." A letter from D. W. Simon informed him that also Professor William Wallace of Oxford was preparing a Life of Kant. (It appeared in 1882.) "That makes three now at work on the same subject." And now, he was considerably perplexed and did not know whether to write to Professor Wallace or not. "Is my work on this subject to be lost?"

He reports divers matters: about a Mr. Curtis, a student from America, and Mr. Robertson, "M. D. of Glasgow" spending an evening with him; of his witnessing night skating, on the ice in the illuminated park, by hundreds of people; of a reception at Ambassador White's on Washington's birthday. He describes the wedding of the later William II and his bride, a most happy event, highly contrasting to their sad flight in 1918. He notes that he had a meeting with Moritz Lazarus, professor in the University, one of the founders of Ethnic Psychology (d. 1903), and with the famous author Berthold Auerbach. He took a walk with Dr. White, whom he finds "intellectually congenial." He relates about being approached to change his denominational affiliation and accept a new position, and his turning it down.

In the summer of 1881, Mrs. Stuckenberg and her charge from America, spent ten weeks in Paris and some time on the Rhine, after having travelled Germany. But Stuckenberg was too occupied with Kant to be one of the company. This occupation was seldom interrupted.

However, one interruption of mingled sadness occurred, connected with the death of President James A. Garfield. In the long fight for life, a fight that might have been won under modern medicine, Garfield finally succumbed. A

memorial service for the beloved President was held in Berlin, a *Trauer-Feier*, September 26, 1881, in the Royal *Domstift* Chapel, in which Stuckenberg spoke of the martyred leader. After liturgical singing by the choir in German, a hymn in German by the congregation, then a prayer, again a liturgical hymn by the choir—Stuckenberg delivered the English address. This was followed by "Nearer, My God to Thee," sung by the congregation. Then court preacher Emil Frommel spoke in German. The service was concluded by the singing of a German hymn, prayer, and the benediction.

This memorial service was held in the evening: "An occasion of profound significance has brought us here this evening. Our flag draped in mourning; these solemn services; your serious countenances; and above all, the unexpressed emotions of your hearts testify to the momentous earnestness and gravity of this hour. Four months after the inauguration, while the people were in the midst of preparations for celebrating Independence Day, the crime was committed against a man under whom a period of unparalleled national and individual prosperity seemed to be inaugurated,"—said Stuckenberg. "No one questioned his election. The memory of Deceased needed no celebration." "In this house of God and in the presence of Him who alone is great this would be sacrilege." But a brief sketch would be appropriate.

Stuckenberg then spoke of his New England parents; the widowed mother; the son who tried to become a sailor, but who felt his ardor damped by an intoxicated crew, and a captain who gave evidence of a coarse nature and brutal passion. Engaged as a canal boat driver, he took ill with malaria fever, but was nursed to health by his pious mother. He changed his plan of a roving life; went with \$17 to a neighboring school; and learned enough to be a teacher; then to Williams College; returned to Hiram College, near Cleveland; became Professor of Ancient Languages and English, and finally its President at 26. "Though never an ordained minister, he frequently preached the Gospel." He

was a self-made man of great physical and intellectual vigor, a man of vast information. He served as Colonel of 42nd Ohio Regiment of Infantry, was praised by General Rosecranz for his efficiency as officer in Kentucky. He was sent to Lincoln to report the position of the army of Chattanooga. Lincoln urged him to resign his commission and take his place in Congress. Here he immediately took a prominent place as chairman of the military committee, and was a strong advocate of sound currency, trusting the people's willingness to carry the burden of taxation to pay the public debt; the sacrifice of the precious blood of half a million of brave men had made life desirable and property secure.

He spoke of Garfield's Christian manhood, without revenge and with heroism in suffering; and of his "heroic little wife." . . . "Our hearts go out for her, but we have no words to express our deep feelings for her." He did not forget to make mention of the five children who were mourning. He said, America's great nation was weeping. The London Exchange was suspended, the Queen put her court in mourning. The expressions of grief were touching, from Germany's imperial family and throughout the various classes of society. He quoted Lincoln's favorite poem, "O why should the spirit of mortal be proud," and closed with the words which Garfield had said after taking the oath of office.

Like Garfield, Stuckenberg, had struggled to get an education, had preached, had been in war, had taught in college. Their outward life had many things in common. Here was room for sympathy and empathy. They even resembled each other physically. Dr. Andrew D. White could never get over the impression made upon him, when for the first time Stuckenberg walked into his office in Berlin, the "striking resemblance" to Garfield. He later made mention of this in several letters both to Stuckenberg and to his wife. Stuckenberg often heard people, meeting him for the first time, remark about his resemblance to Garfield.



- § 2. Life of Kant Published—Manuscript Approved by James Russell Lowell—Reviewed in England and Germany—Appreciation by Andrew D. White

The manuscript on *The Life of Immanuel Kant* was ready in January, 1882. Stuckenberg made a journey to London to look for a publisher. This was not an easy matter. There was no eagerness to publish books dealing in "metaphysics". He wrote to his wife that Regan Paul made him a proposition, whereby the firm should stand 40% of the expense. Stuckenberg did not favor this, neither did his wife, to whom he wrote daily and who urged him to adhere to his own fixed price. He was looking for better terms, but "Oh! the Ifs in this life." "How I dislike this whole business. It is not in my line. Would it were over."

Pending a more favorable decision, he visited art and bookshops, the Parliament, and the parks. He heard Dr. Joseph Parker one evening. Did he like him? "Yes and No." He would give his verdict in Berlin. He heard Canon Farrar one morning and enjoyed his discourse. He heard Parker again, whose sermon he found really very faulty, surprisingly so, but in imagination and rhetoric—really fine, and "I can understand why he wields so much power." He visited a meeting of Spurgeon, who had reviewed his *Christian Sociology* in "Sword and Trowel" (1882, p. 96). It seems as if Spurgeon did not approve of the adjective "Christian". Stuckenberg's comment was: "He is conservative. I am progressive. He runs in the grooves of an old orthodoxy. I want to adapt the truth to the times."

When about to give up his mission, the prospects for printing his book being very gloomy, he was astonished to run across that already mentioned English edition of his *Christian Sociology*. It had been printed in 2000 copies. This greatly pleased him. On the day following, Macmillan & Company agreed to accept his *Life of Kant*. They had promised to publish it if Mr. James Russell Lowell, the American poet, who then was United States Ambassador to Great Britain, would recommend it. The minister and

poet was visited at the Legation in London, was cordial and said: "Bring the dullest chapter of your book tomorrow at one o'clock and read it to me, then we will see what can be done." The chapter dealing with the works and views of Kant was selected. With a palpitating heart it was read to that keen critic and eminent author, whose fame in England rivalled his reputation in America. Sometimes the reading was stopped in order to discuss a passage. The words "back of it" occurred in one place. Lowell's comment was "That's a vulgarism." When the reading was finished, Mr. Lowell was very mild in his criticism, spoke favorably of the substance, and added: "I regard its literary character fully equal to that usually found in philosophical writings, and shall be pleased to tell Mr. Macmillan so." Macmillan was informed of Mr. Lowell's opinion, and published the book. It is a volume of XIV+474 pages, the last 24 pages being an Appendix consisting of references and notes (1882).

The *Life of Immanuel Kant*, strictly speaking, is as historical and biographical as a metaphysical work ever dares be. But it is a real "Life", fascinating from cover to cover, and the first English *Life* ever written of the philosopher from Königsberg. English reviews of it were lengthy and most pleasing. The *Weekly Register* called it "on the whole a very satisfactory book." The *Scottsman* (July 12, 1882) praises the book for its "large number of details, many of which are full of interest and which bring him very near and vividly before us again." The *Literary World*, under the heading of "Choice Readings from the Best New Books and Critical Reviews," devotes the first three pages of the issue, October 27, 1882, to extracts and comments on Stuckenberg's *Kant*. The article closes: "We may here take leave of Dr. Stuckenberg, who has redeemed his pledge of supplying the first complete biography of Kant, which has appeared since his death. Mr. Wallace in a recent, popular summary of Kant's philosophy for *Blackwood's Series of Modern Philosophers*, has traced the leading outlines of this singular life. Kuno Fischer has also

touched on them quite adequately in his sketch of Kant's person and philosophy. Still, as a centenary monument in honor of the *Kritik*, Dr. Stuckenberg's work will deserve a place beside Dr. Caird's masterly summary of his philosophical system."

The most thorough and scholarly of the reviews, quite just in its distribution of both praise and censure, appeared in the *Saturday Review*, October 14, 1882. It calls the work a "full account of the philosopher's personality and life," regards the history of Kant's literary achievements as full and satisfactory. The volume is "on the whole very pleasant reading." This review is racy and apt in its extracts. The criticisms which it makes refer to proportions and not to facts.

To these notices from English reviews, we can append two from America. One, which appeared in the *Lutheran Evangelist*, September 22, 1882, is exuberant in its praise of the author, but crudely misunderstands Kant. The other is a very favorable review by Professor Francis L. Patton, and is contained in the *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1883.

The weightiest review, however, came from Hermann Ulrici. He was professor of philosophy in the University of Halle, doctor of both philosophy and theology. Like James R. Lowell, he had also studied law. Like him he was aesthetical, aesthetics being one of the philosophical branches which he taught. He was, moreover, Germany's most outstanding Shakespeare scholar and President of the Shakespeare Gesellschaft in that country. As editor of *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, he reviewed Stuckenberg's book on Kant:

"Every one of the demands which the author, in his preface, has made upon himself, he seems to have fulfilled in ample measure. We have here not merely a *Life* of Kant based upon careful historic research, but also a history of his investigations and of his literary activities, together with a presentation of his religious standpoint, which culminates, to use the words of the author, in an explanation of his theology. Exception might be taken to his concep-

tion of the spirit and character of Kant's Schrifftthum and of his use of it in characterizing Kant himself, particularly in regard to the interpretation and estimation of fundamental conceptions in his philosophy, concerning which there was doubt and conflict, not only during Kant's lifetime, but also in our own day. But, in general, fair-minded readers must appreciate the objectiveness of the conception and the thoroughness of judgment, which, in my opinion, the author has manifested throughout.

"Even in particular cases in which he is in error, his mistake is the result of the comprehensiveness of his study of the sources. . . . And it cannot be a reproach to the author that he regarded B. Erdmann as being the exact, thorough investigator. And, finally, I desire to mention that in my opinion, his presentation merits every praise for its style; not because it is distinguished by what is called beauty, by elegance, or oratorical fervor, poetic metaphor, similes . . . etc., but because it has not employed these means of ornamentation. He uses the solid, plain English that conveys the thought in the clearest, most adequate manner, such as is used by English authors in general,—which in my opinion is the only scientific form of presentation to be followed in a scientific work."

Professor Ulrici followed the review with an invitation to Stuckenberg to write for his *Journal of Philosophy*.

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Kant remains the greatest of all modern philosophers. But four schools differ as to what the essence of his transcendental philosophy is. The first claims that according to the subjective idealistic conception, the gravity of Kant's philosophy consists in Idealism. Kuno Fischer champions this claim. Secondly, The moral metaphysical conception is held by Friedrich Paulsen: Kant, never anti-metaphysical, always aimed at building a foundation for metaphysics. Thirdly, Hermann Cohen sponsors the methodical conception: the chief aim of the *Kritik* is to establish a theory of experience. Fourthly, the logical-realistic conception is advocated by Alois Riehl, according to whom the sole ob-



ject of the *Kritik* is the concept of experience in the objective meaning: Kant's idealism is only a means, not an aim. See Max Frischeisen-Köhler, in Deter's, *Abriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 12th ed., p. 183.

Finally, two very fine appreciative expressions in letters must not be overlooked. One came from Charles Lowe, author of *Prince Bismarck: An Historical Biography* (London, 1885), and Berlin correspondent to the *London Times*. He wrote to Stuckenberg, June 29, 1882: "A thousand thanks for your charming *Life of Kant*. . . . Your arrangement of matter is excellent. . . . It seems to me to possess the first requisites of a good biography, freedom from unessentials and sustained interest. . . . I only wish my poor *Life of the Chancellor* were as far advanced . . ."

The other letter came, two years after the appearance of the *Life of Kant*. It was written to Stuckenberg by none else than Dr. Andrew D. White. It incidentally relates what could lead to the inference that the spirit of sweetness was ebbing at Wittenberg College. Was it Dr. Ort or Dr. Sprecher that was the laconic penman? Neither of them was a master at the Spencerian stroke. White's letter, however, is full of praise for Stuckenberg's *Life*:

"Your letter of February 28, just received, gives me great pleasure and comes in the nick of time. About three weeks ago I wrote to the President of Wittenberg College asking for your address, and received a postal card, very curt and scant, which I had great difficulty in making out, and which said in substance that you were supposed to be in Berlin.

"My purpose in writing to you was to tell you of the pleasure I have had in a careful reading of your *Life of Kant*, I have been giving all the time I could secure for the last two months to increasing my previous scanty knowledge of the great philosopher, with a view to the preparation of two lectures upon him in the course of German history to my students. Naturally, my purpose is to show, first, the relation of his *Critique of Pure Reason* to the development of science and of religious and general thought,

and secondly, to make a similar showing in regard to his ethical works. With a great mass of authorities about me, I have found nothing more clear and satisfactory than your book: only I have frequently wished that you had made it two volumes instead of one. . . .”

Stuckenberg's *Life of Kant* is registered in the Kant bibliography in encyclopedias like Meyer's *Groszes Konversations-Lexikon*, 6th edition, 1905, being listed as one of nine works dealing with Kant's *Life*. It is also given notice in histories of Philosophy like Uberweg-Heinze's. In the English translation, by Professor Frank Thilly, of Paulsen's *Immanuel Kant; Sein Leben und seine Lehre*, the translator states that the only extensive biography of Kant in English is by Stuckenberg.

Stuckenberg's book, while treating the philosophy of the king of thought at Königsberg, gave major attention to the description of his life. It has the fascination of a novel, not concealing the oddities and eccentricities of Kant, the bachelor, but rather depicting them in that interesting and truthful way which does no violence to the totality picture. We perceive Kant as a tutor in several families, the "father" of a physical geography, though he never saw a mountain or the ocean; the author of the best description of the London bridge, though he never got many miles away from his native city; the teacher who wrote his big book for theologians, to give them some propædæutic training in thinking. We behold the man of pedantic propriety that could not go on lecturing if he saw a student's vest not buttoned in the right way; the outspoken critic who objected to people intruding their purchased perfumes upon him, or their songs. We hear that he particularly objected to the singing in the Penitentiary, not far away, which was not music in his ears, but was a hypocritical exercise of the inmates in the prison in order to get within the good graces of men who had to do with pardons. We learn that he hated beer and the smell of it, and would often advance the drinking of beer as the probable cause of the death of townsmen who from time to time made their exit from life.

We see the man, punctuality itself, by whose daily walk the citizens of Königsberg set their clocks, the fearless thinker whom the authorities deprived of the right to lecture in theology—though he was none too well at home in this subject; the good natured scholar who was tricked and robbed or cheated out of proposing marriage to an adorable lady. We listen to the remarks he made to his famulus, a sort of Wagner waiting upon Faust. We smell the smoke of his pipe and the “stink sponge” wherewith he lit it. We take note of the fame that enveloped him, of the many letters sent to him asking for advice, some of idiotic content and minus postage stamp for return reply. And behind it all, was the whole of Kant and his mighty intellect, the unsurpassed philosopher of generations.

And yet, Kant was no man of intellectual infallibility. Stuckenberg was aware of this, and stated his criticism of Kant's system of philosophy, especially in 1883, and again in 1891.

In a notebook (E) from 1883, Stuckenberg wrote: “A complete satisfactory system is not given by Kant. The speculative and practical, the subjective and objective, the intellectual and the emotional, the philosophic and scientific elements, are not properly connected. The system is excellent as a discipline of thought and contains lighthouses and buoys of inestimable value to the philosopher, but it is not the final haven. Criticism is essential and there may be times when it is the chief work of philosophy. But the mind cannot rest in criticism, least of all in its negations. The value of criticism is in the fact that it may not merely drive away the chaff, but also leave a deposit of precious grain. The positive truth found must be developed and systematized, and this is more than can be accomplished by mere criticism. Criticism is a *Durchgangspunkt*, not a resting place. But it is not surprising that it should take ages to appreciate and appropriate so rich a system as that of Kant, ages to develop the rich germs in his philosophy, and it is not surprising that some should be so lost in the system that they cannot find their way out: Kant wanted

no authority in philosophy but that of the truth; yet it is natural that those who cannot find, cannot even search for it themselves should attach themselves to some personal authority—to such a master mind as Kant.”

In 1891, Stuckenberg made this entry into his Notebook of Lectures: “I regard as the most radical defect in Kant’s system the dualism which runs through the whole, and it was this that made it untenable. Among these defects was the fundamental theory that the material of knowledge comes to us through our senses, while the form is furnished by the mind itself. In this way, there is a severe separation between the mind as subject; and the external world as object: This impassible gulf the mind has ever since been somewhat intent on bridging over or else the objective side has been emphasized with materialism as the result; or the subjective side has been emphasized (Fichte) with idealism as the result. The objective world, on Kant’s theory, or *Ding an sich*, is wholly beyond the sphere of our knowledge. We have in our mind only phenomena, but these are phenomena of our own mind, and we cannot from them draw any valid conclusions respecting the reality outside of our minds. The philosophy of Kant made all metaphysics impossible. What he put in its place, namely, the postulates of practical reason (Freedom, God, Immortality) did not satisfy because they were mere postulates, not absolutely firm foundations. And these postulates themselves were based on a dualism, namely the dualism existing between the sense and the intellect—the apriori and the aposteriori elements.

“When we consider the problems left us by the philosophy of Kant, we can well understand the process of philosophic development which followed. The result became the neglect of philosophy *as system*.”

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We have stated that shortly after Stuckenberg returned to Berlin from his visit to London, Mrs. Stuckenberg and her charge went to Paris. They proceeded later to Franzensbad in Bohemia, their letters to him containing frequent



allusions to "mud baths," and "stuck in the mud" episodes. He remained at home reading. He celebrated in 1882 the American Independence Day by reading "Lotze, with slight interruptions all morning," instead of going to the picnic arranged by the Americans in the capital. It was this summer that he was studying "Power", a theme on which he labored much, over a period of several years, leaving it, it seems, for longer intervals only to return to it. In preparing it, he made a most careful analysis and summarization of Dr. Johannes Müller's *Grundriss der Physik und Meteorologie*. Müller was a physicist. Only fragments of this work on "Power" have been preserved. In 1915 the entire manuscript was extant. It was perhaps intended for the press a little before 1900. It has been lost. But the fragments preserved indicate that use was made of such works as those of Paul Volkmann, Bernhard Hagen, Rudolf Wagner, G. Teichmüller, Hermann Lotze, Balfour Stewart, W. R. Grove, J. R. Meyer, Michael Farraday, J. S. Mill, J. Fichte, E. Du Bois-Reymond, O. Flügel, Johannes Ebrard, E. von Hartmann, Th. Waitz, William Whewell, Georg Gerland, F. A. Lange, Edward B. Tylor, Max Müller, Th. Achelis, E. Reiche, Youman (admirer of Spencer), Adalbert Mühry.

When through letters his wife learned about his study in *Power*—his aim was to prove that Power is the essence or Nature of everything, even God is Power—she wrote humorously: "Go on with your 'Power' studies, when we meet again, I hope to convince you that I, too, am a Power." She was always ready to give some of her time to secretarial work, lending assistance in transcribing excerpts from books he consulted; as for instance in this work on "Power".

The Stuckenberg's now moved. Since their uncle, H. Jarecki, and his two daughters had come to stay for some years, and wishing to be with their relatives, it was found desirable to remove from Hegelplatz II to other more spacious quarters, 46 Köttener Strasse. Mr. Jarecki remained in Germany four years. He was a manufacturer in Erie,

a man of much wealth and great kindness. In America, it was rumored that Stuckenberg was returning to Springfield. This rumor, however, seems to have been occasioned through correspondence with Dr. Sprecher, who, in June, 1882, had asked him to return to Wittenberg: "For about a year's time I shall retire from my labors in the College, and it is my desire and hope that you will be my successor. So I think that the Board will ask you to return from Germany next year and cast your lot permanently with the theological Seminary here." Sprecher in his letter states that there had been some talk of moving the College to Mansfield, Ohio, but that city failed to meet the terms presented by the Board.

Stuckenberg appreciated this thoughtfulness on the part of Dr. Sprecher, but to his wife he wrote: "Have thought much of Dr. Sprecher's letter, reread it this morning. The more I consider it, the less I am inclined to say that I will accept the position if offered. I do not think that it is the place for me." He was again at his "Power": "I worked on the principles of Physics all morning . . . I want to put power for atoms, molecules, for matter itself; but it is yet doubtful how I can do it. It has been a morning of hard and satisfactory work."

There was a group of interesting men that was attending his church at this time, among them were Charles Ripley Gillett, William Lazarus Pearson, Frank Edward Woodruff, all graduate students of theology and philosophy. Gillett occasionally supplied the pulpit for him. Stuckenberg took "metaphysical walks" with this or that candidate for the doctor's degree, spent his mornings in the Journal and Reading rooms of the Royal Library. He keenly watched the political movements of nations, and called, for example, the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by the English "an outrage and disgrace." He was a little concerned about the Board of Wittenberg—it still owed him a considerable sum of money—as to whether it voted him his money. "But whether they did or not, I do not think that they will ever be in my debt again."

To relieve the monotony of metaphysics, he tried writing a novel. Lizzie, the charge, read it at Franzensbad. He was ready to write another. "I rejoice at my success in a field that is foreign to me." He wrote his wife to cultivate Russian acquaintances and "learn all you can about that unfortunate land." He was greatly interested in Russia. He writes about a naive *Frau Doktor*, who wrote plays in defective English. She paid him a visit one day after dinner and "smoked her cigar like a man."

His uncle Jarecki was under absent treatment of Dr. Friedrich V. Weber, who would write from Thienhausen to Stuckenberg about his medicine and diet. The Stuckenbergs became good friends of this fine physician and celebrated poet, whose *Dreizehnlinden* passed through many editions even in the first year, in 1878, and had reached 133 editions by 1906.

What would the years 1883-84 bring?

§ 3. Tours to Southern Europe and the Scandinavian Countries—  
Member Philosophical Society of Berlin—Weighing Princeton—  
Ann Arbor

In the summer of 1883, he went with Mr. Jarecki to Wiesbaden. Mrs. Stuckenberg went with the latter's daughters to Franzensbad. On the way he visited Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Wartburg. Arriving at Wiesbaden, he made an inventory of available books at this place, in philosophy, to which he applied himself. He pursued Spinoza's *Ethics*, several works by Trendelenburg, listened evenings to concerts, and occasionally played chess. He tried the mineral water of the place, but found it nauseating and discontinued it, took baths and found himself profited by them. He made a trip to Mayence and Frankfort. After six weeks his wife and nieces rejoined him. Together they made excursions on the Rhine, for the fifth time. He visited the Cathedral in Cologne, of which he could not speak "except in terms of rapture. . . . With the study of its various parts, its majesty grows. . . . It is the grandest of buildings, whose sight is worth a trip across the deep." They next visited

Worms and Strassburg. He noticed at Schaffhausen the many houses that had special names painted in front while others were ornamented with pictures. He saw the exposition at Zürich. Swiss industry was surprising to him in its exhibits, surprising in extent and character and admirably arranged. Together they visited Tell's chapel, encountered a "snake three feet long" and fought off very "tenacious and impudent flies." They made interesting acquaintances at a hotel. But Stuckenberg again felt the lack of books at St. Moritz. There were none to purchase, but he was told he might obtain some from the minister at Silvaplana or the one at Celerina. But the minister to whom he went was not at home. He next took walks with Rev. Stannard of Huddersfield, England. He finally succeeded in borrowing some books from Samuel Alexander, fellow of Baliol College, Oxford: Th. H. Greene's work on *Ethics* and Hegel's *Philosophie des Rechts* and his works on *Aesthetics*. He studied all days, except for a walk to the Curhaus to read the papers.

He then describes various mountain climbs, in all modesty, which, however, indicate physical feats, and show that a man of fifty can be of wonderful physique, combining wonderful courage with great physical strength, agility, and endurance. And how he loved nature, in rain or shine, and in violent thunderstorms; from the little unnoticed flower hard by the ice in the mountain heights to the grand glaciers and gorgeous sunsets. He tells once that a guide with a team of donkeys, who was to take his wife to a certain place, failed to come. After long waiting he hailed a carriage, driven by a coachman and occupied by man and wife, people of nobility. He asked for a short conveyance for his wife and explained the situation. She was received into the coach, but paid the penalty of this American "intrusion" by being ignored all the way with cold silence. Not a word was spoken. Arrived at the destination, Stuckenberg offered payment. Money was refused. So he gave generously to the coachman.

At the hotel they met Mrs. George Palmer Davies from



Berlin, and became better acquainted with this generous-hearted lady of nobility, being before her marriage to the Englishman, who until his recent death preached once a month in the American chapel in Berlin, *Freiin von Dungen*. Reference has been made to her before as the friend of the families of the cabmen in Berlin and in whose home, Potsdamer Str. 82, Stuckenberg later met some distinguished people present at the Tholuckabend. She did so much to make the life of the Stuckenbergs pleasant at the capital, introducing them to her society, entertaining them and helping in the American church. It has already been told that among the women present on that Tholuck evening, were the sister of Bismarck and the daughter of Schleiermacher. It was not the first time that the Stuckenbergs met the latter lady. For, some time previous to this, they had been introduced to her in the home of Mrs. Davies, who had sent these cards to Mrs. Stuckenberg:

*Mrs. George Palmer Davies*

*geb. Freiin von Dungen*

*Potsdamer Str. 82*

Dear Mrs. Stuckenberg:

The Countess Schwerin (Schleiermacher's daughter) and her sister-in-law, Frau von Willig, take a cup of tea with me tomorrow night, about 8 o'clock. They do not expect to meet any one, but I think it would interest you and Dr. St. to meet the lady first mentioned. Please, a verbal message!

Mrs. Davies, while at St. Moritz, also made the Stuckenbergs acquainted with a number of English and German tourists, with whom they were to be much associated in the years to come. At the request of these new friends, Stuckenberg conducted two Bible readings at the tourist hotel.

This part of the summer tour ended with four weeks of travel in Italy. Stuckenberg describes the fine scenery, many beautiful churches, but ends almost every description with a remark about the irreverence he had noticed in worship, especially the mechanical chatter of priests. Religion in the south of Europe is largely aesthetics, in the

north it is more a matter of heart. His last transaction in Italy was the purchase of "a small book on Plato to have some food on the way."

As yet, the plans of the Stuckenbergs in Berlin were indefinite. He was qualified for a professorship in philosophy in a larger American institution of learning. And he made known his availability. But Philosophy was then a rather elementary subject in America, largely ethics, logic and psychology—and when it later began to develop, psychology seemed to absorb a large part of it. Stuckenberg had been recommended in 1883 to the College of New Jersey, the legal name for Princeton College, now University. Mr. W. L. Pearson, a Quaker student, who had studied under Dr. McCosh, the President of the school, had recommended him to his teacher as a very desirable candidate for the new chair to be established in philosophy. Stuckenberg's hopes of being appointed were, however, put to naught by himself, perhaps wisely, certainly honorably. He could not teach philosophy according to make, and therefore wrote in August, 1883, to the President:

"Some time ago, Mr. . . . Pearson wrote a letter suggesting my name for a School of Philosophy about to be established at Princeton. I do not know what attention his letter may have received. . . . I have just learned that the *a priori* philosophy of Germany is to be excluded or opposed. If I had had any idea that the philosophy of the school was to be determined even before the school was founded, instead of being the result of free inquiry, I should never have permitted my name to be sent: and with whatever favor it may have been received, I now respectfully request its withdrawal." The letter was sent from St. Moritz, just before he returned to Berlin. He met Dr. McCosh five years later on a visit to Princeton. Dr. McCosh became his enthusiastic friend, as also did Professor Warfield. Both corresponded with him.

While at Wiesbaden, he received the gratifying notice that he had been elected a member of "Die Philosophische Gessellschaft zu Berlin." This Philosophical Society was

one of the most influential of philosophical societies in those days. It was founded in 1843 by Karl Ludwig Michelet and Count August Cieszkowski. For decades Adolf Lasson, editor of Hegel's works, was the leading spirit in it. Both Michelet and Lasson were professors of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. The Society had monthly meetings. In these Stuckenberg met many professors from the University, partaking in discussions and presenting papers. In 1885 he gave a paper on Hume, which was published by the Society; and, in 1891, a paper on Hegelian Philosophy in America, in honor of the 90th birthday of Michelet.

Philosophers of the Society had been attracted by his *Life of Kant*. They got to know him. Two were present one day at his services. On April 5, 1883, he received a note, in French, from one of the members of the Society, N. Marelle, stating that he had proposed his name and assured him that he could count on the election. A letter of May 23, from the director of the Society, Meineke, informed him of his membership and that the last meeting of the season would take place at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, May 26, when Professor Michelet would give a paper on the "Importance of Neo-Platonism for the Development of Christian Speculation."

Such a recognition could not but highly please Stuckenberg. For the subsequent ten years he was a regular attendant at the sessions of this Society, and from time to time his letters refer to the themes discussed and the men met in this group of thinkers.

He had his forenoons in Berlin entirely to himself. Then he studied and wrote, either at home or the Royal Library. In the afternoon after dinner he had *Sprechstunde*, would next take a long walk—he loved to walk. Week day evenings were given to concerts, the opera, social visits or resumed study. He had Sunday services at 11:30, giving all a chance first to visit services in the Cathedral or some other German church. He generally came from the German services direct to his own, which were called Union services, American chapel or American Church. The word

"Union" originally meant, in this connection, services where English and Americans would worship together. The word had no denominational connotation, though later it was popularly taken to mean that the rigid commitment to exclusive creeds was not required. The church was Protestant, and fully as liberal as was the Church Union of Prussia, which made, for example, no discrimination between Luther's Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism. In fact, the basis of the American Church, first understood, and later explicitly stated, was the Apostles' Creed, with the Bible, particularly the New Testament, as norm. There were no doctrinal quarrels in Stuckenberg's church. In his days the church was attended by Americans.

On Sunday evenings Americans would, during the early eighties, meet at the home of Abbots, until, as stated, Stuckenberg relieved the Abbots of what had become an increasing responsibility and expense. These meetings will be described later.

Representations came to him from several quarters to write for their journal. Mr. John F. Stannard, editor of the *Christian World*, England, called, September 13, on him, desiring articles for his publication, and offering 40 shillings for each. In the following months frequent letters passed between Professor Edward H. Hincks, editor of the *Andover Review Monthly*. Stuckenberg wrote for this periodical on several themes, as for instance *Theological Tendencies in Germany*, 1884 (175-196); (248-285). The *Early Life of Tholuck*, 1885 (248-285). *Liberal Education in Germany*, 1886 (453-476). *Ranke and His Method*, 1887 (117-137). The Review had been recently established, and Andover had been reconstructed. Three of the new men on the faculty "are parishioners of yours." Hincks had seen German scholarship attacked by men unqualified to speak; he wanted articles to "counteract false tales"; articles that would be "built upon proper sources and wrought by a man who could speak with authority."

In 1884, Stuckenberg was brought face to face with a proposition that had more than ordinary appeal to him.



The University of Michigan was considering adding a new man to its Department of Philosophy. Alexander Winchell, who was the incumbent of the chair of Geology and Palaeontology in this institution and who knew Stuckenberg as a scholar and his position in regard to Christianity, proposed him to the university authorities. Many letters passed between him and Stuckenberg, who stated his own opinion of the status of philosophy in a letter to the President. He said he believed that "we are in a period of critical eclecticism and skepticism and are not yet prepared to construct a new system of philosophy; but by taking the past development, especially by a thorough criticism of Locke and Kant, we can get the basis for a new and fruitful start . . ." He would be ready to help lay a basis and cultivate a philosophic spirit.

As he was waiting for developments, he steadily kept on with his own studies, working at an *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*. He was especially busy in the field of Aesthetics. In the Philosophical Society he had heard Lasson review Professor Engel's book, *Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. Stuckenberg had been working mainly with Kant and Lotze in this field.

He completed his chapter on Aesthetics, in fact his whole *Introduction*, locked the manuscript in the drawer of his desk, and put his desk in order. Orderliness, he joked, came from the study of Aesthetics. Now he could sigh relief, and really sit down and read Plato with genuine pleasure. He felt at peace with the world. But then Vice Consul Smith suddenly appeared at the door, and in the name of the Committee asked him to preside on July Fourth at a dinner at the Zoo. "Of course," he wrote, "I shall preside with dignity, honor and grace—as I always do." A cough was bothering him, but "this abominable weather is enough to make a rhinoceros cough."

Waiting for the date of the patriotic event, he made one of his visits to the University. "This morning I spent at the University, hearing the first lectures this semester. There was instruction and inspiration in them. I met quite

a number of Americans, seven of us sitting together in Zeller's lecture."

Still in playful mood, he writes, June 27, 1884: "My dear wife, I always address you the same way, I am always the same, not changing with every wind, not made fickle by transient moods. What a treasure such a husband is! And how blessed if he appreciates himself, even if no one else does. . . . Lotze's *History of Aesthetics* is nearly completed, and I do not perceive any divine afflatus yet. There is always an advantage of taking a prosaic view of poetry, as it indicates mastery of intellect. I do not think any poetry could, in my present dull mood, inspire me otherwise than prosaically."

Ann Arbor was not out of his mind. Even Wittenberg College now and then is conjured up before him, and then Gettysburg College is suggested. Rev. Robert Neumann of New York had interviewed Rev. A. C. Wedekind in connection with the Presidency of Gettysburg College. Wedekind had promised to advocate Stuckenberg's election. But a certain Baur had made a statement (about staying in Germany?) which might interfere with action both at Ann Arbor and at Wittenberg. And to Gettysburg Stuckenberg did not want to go. "I shall not weep if I am not elected anywhere; indeed I do not know but what another year here would be the best for me."

He had again attended a session of the Philosophical Society. A paper on *Tonkunst* was continued. He almost became musical. Twenty-two were present. Then he asks his wife to send him the "new compliment" she got, otherwise he would imagine that it was meant for him—and that would make him vain, he explained. The Fourth of July was approaching. He sends his wife a flag to hang over her table on Independence Day. She must show her colors. He had again spent five morning hours with Kant on Aesthetics. But he thought "the subject was not very congenial to Kant, his education in that respect having been neglected."

"News" spread in America that he had been elected to

the chair at Ann Arbor. Dr. M. W. Jacobus, who had returned to Pennsylvania from studying three years in Berlin, congratulated him by letter. But there was no confirmation of the "news". Stuckenberg could only celebrate the Fourth, and bade his wife, at Franzensbad "Celebrate, celebrate enthusiastically. The girls might take an extra Moor bath for inspiration." As for him, he would look up in the morning Bishop Hurst and Professor Green. He would then go to base ball, then toast the Kaiser in the evening, see that the speeches were short. He could drink his toast probably in water, and ask for three cheers for the President.

The Fourth was celebrated. One hundred were at the dinner, the German American Jewish element being predominant. Some ambitious Yankee had to start the Star Spangled Banner, after Stuckenberg had refused it. It proved a fizzle. "There are always men with more enthusiasm than sense at such meetings."

He now made plans to tour the Scandinavian countries with his two cousins, Mrs. Stuckenberg remaining with Mr. and Mrs. Jarecki. He was bothered with a cough, and thought the northern climate would help against it. Their stay in Denmark was short, but pleasant. In the stores he would speak German and found no difficulty in being understood. He was less attracted by Copenhagen, however, than by Stockholm, Sweden, where they visited museums of northern antiquities, "an immense amount of material illustrating Scandinavian life." Cousin Mary bought and was reading the novel, "The First Violin". In Norway they remained ten days, enjoying its grand scenery. It was a novelty for him to be so far north, in the lands of Jennie Lind and Ole Bull, whose song and music he had appreciated so much while they were in America. "These Lutheran lands," he wrote to his brother, "are full of interest. I am much farther north than I have ever been before or likely ever shall be again." His cough was better, though he was extremely liable to take a cold. He was a chosen delegate to the International Convention of the Y. M. C. A. in Ber-

lin in the latter part of August, but had little hope of getting there in time. He was still "dreaming of Ann Arbor."

Dr. Angell, President of the University of Michigan, as it proved, had made inquiries about Stuckenberg. He had sent a letter of inquiry to Dr. Sprecher, who wrote to Stuckenberg: "I need not tell you that I recommended you in the highest terms, as I think you will be better prepared to fill that chair than any other man that I know. And it is a position in which a Christian philosopher will have a typical opportunity to promote the Christian cause and the salvation of the young men." As to Wittenberg College, several names had been presented, and H. L. Wiles was elected. It was rumored that Stuckenberg was not available.

His suspense as to Ann Arbor ended in August, 1884. In a letter from Christiania, Norway, he informed his brother: "The Board of regents at Ann Arbor did not elect a professor for pecuniary reasons. They expect to elect next summer and my name will likely remain under consideration till that time. A committee reported in my favor and no other name was considered. The action suits me perfectly, because I want to remain in Berlin another year, and I am much needed to carry out the services of the Chapel. And as provision is made to meet all our expenses—and more too—I prefer to remain, but should have accepted call to Ann Arbor if given, since so good a place might not again be offered."

On returning to Berlin, he noticed the many new faces at services. There was a sudden inrush of Americans in 1883-84. He observed that he would have considerable help in the Chapel for the coming winter. He was already receiving assistance. Dr. Hurst, he reports, had preached a good sermon in the Chapel. Dr. Buckley, Methodist, partook in communion; he knew Stuckenberg through *Christian Sociology*, which Buckley had reviewed.

The Pastor's income had been increased. One American lady had placed her son under his tutorship, for which alone he was receiving fifty dollars a month. He was happy at



hearing from his nephew Harry, son of Henry Stuckenberg, that he was ready to assume the charge of a congregation. Harry had graduated from Wittenberg College and Seminary. The father, now a well-to-do business man in Cincinnati, had long ago overcome the scruples he once entertained against Wittenberg's becoming co-educational. Henry was a man of sterling character, firm in his convictions, a layman whose first concern was the kingdom of God. The two brothers had good reason to be satisfied with the aim and aspiration of their son and nephew in Ohio.

It is perhaps vain to speculate as to what Stuckenberg's "career" or "success" might have been, if he had become a teacher at Ann Arbor. We are concerned with Stuckenberg as he was and came to be, not with what he might have been. However, there is much truth in a letter written ten years later by a person very anxious to woo Stuckenberg again for Ann Arbor.

This letter is extant only in a fragment. The author—his name is no longer definitely known—says: "I know that if there is any chance at all of getting you to accept it, I am willing to do everything in my power to get the thing fixed. Anybody who knows anything about colleges, knows that by far the most important chair, so far as religious influence, or the opposite, is concerned, is that of Philosophy. We have had enough of half-concealed Materialism and Agnosticism in this university, and I crave a man like yourself in this position." This is a proper observation, to which, however, the following should be added for objective consideration:

Stuckenberg was almost fifty years old when Dr. Winchell presented his name the first time to the authorities of the University of Michigan. Election and acceptance would have meant, in the main, teaching undergraduates. He was used to graduate students. When the second possibility for connection with this university arose, he was sixty, reaching that age which the mechanizing efficiency expert of to-day insists is the age for retirement of teachers, thus depriving them not only of a livelihood, but of the scholastic

atmosphere which was and still is their life, with little or no pension. Universities seldom import new men of sixty.

It is conceivable that an American university could have elected Leopold Ranke as professor at the age of sixty or seventy, just as well as to acquire his grand library after his death. Even at our day, as German papers have reported, the Theological Faculty at Princeton elected Karl Heim, age 63, as a member of its faculty. (He declined.) However, such considerations were strange to the mentality of 1880-90. And though, a generation later, Hindenburg's age did not prevent his martial efficiency as a commander, one example out of many others that man's life is too rich to be run by the clock and almanac, yet age has been often made a convenient scapegoat for men who think in terms of mechanical or biologic Psychology.

But, eliminating the factor of age, would Stuckenberg have found that pleasure in Ann Arbor that he found in Berlin, and would not the transfer to the University of Michigan—it was largely undergraduate at the time—have limited the growing richness of his mind, ever contacting more extensively and more deeply with the realm of knowledge and with men of outstanding scholarship? This question cannot be answered before one has let his complete life pass before him in retrospect. And perhaps it needs no answer.<sup>18</sup>

§ 4. The Voice of Alumni—Co-editor of the Homiletic Review—Lecture before Philosophical Society in Berlin—Countess Waldersee and the Stuckenbergs—German Homiletics.

For four years Stuckenberg had been preaching in the American chapel at the pitifully small reimbursement of ten marks a sermon! But money was not his object. From 1885 and in the years immediately following, his salary was to be \$250! He received much praise for his sermons, but little of the appreciation came in a pecuniary form. Mr. W. M. Griscom from Reading, Pa., sent him \$85, through Mrs. Griscom, who was still in Berlin. His annual pew

rent, in Reading, he said, amounted to more than that. The sum was a personal gift to Stuckenberg; it was not to go to the treasury, because he had worked so much for "next to nothing."

In January, 1885, Rev. W. H. Singley told in a letter why Stuckenberg was not elected at the Board meeting, in June, 1884, at Wittenberg College. It was voiced that he had in the most positive way protested against accepting the Professorship of Dogmatic Theology, if it were tendered him. Dr. H. W. McKnight was nominated, but defeated. Professor Ehrenfeldt sprung the name of Dr. H. L. Wiles, who had graduated from Wittenberg College in 1863 and had had one year of theology. But Singley was confident that Stuckenberg could be elected; he had only to say he would stand for election. "The great majority of the alumni of all generations want you to take the chair of Dogmatic Theology and Philosophy in Wittenberg." Thus Singley, who was a member of the Wittenberg Board, and co-editor of the Lutheran Evangelist. A very urgent letter of the same type was received by Stuckenberg from Rev. E. D. Smith, who at the same time made inquiries about Hegel. He was later a member of the Board, witnessed the Gottwald trial, and left the Lutheran Church in disgust, entering the Methodist ministry. He, like Singley, had been taught by Stuckenberg at Wittenberg.

In February, 1885, Stuckenberg began his regular contributions to the *Homiletic Review*, of New York. He wrote, in co-editorial capacity—at first about skepticism, agnosticism and the seven riddles of science proposed by Du Bois-Reymond. He was to write an article every month, to help to keep American readers abreast of the biblical, theological, and religious thought of continental Europe. "Your name will be published as editor of the department." His salary was \$250 a year, to start with. This increased after a few years to be \$1,000 a year, when he wrote mainly on social problems. His friend, Dr. F. W. Scovel, President of Wooster College, was one of the first to write him how greatly obliged he was for the articles. Scovel was prepar-

ing for a lecture in the Allegheny Seminary, on the Elliot Foundation. His theme was "Christianity and Civilization."

This theme was then, as now, an attractive but misleading one. Christianity's contribution—and it can be only indirect—to civilization is small when compared to its re-evaluation of all other religions, which in past days were the main creative and sustaining part of civilizations. The Catholic Church had religionized western civilization; but Luther had, and rightly so, secularized it, making civilization a product of guiding reason, and not of revelation. Christianity, liberated from religions, was now again free for religion. But this was not the view of Scovel or the American culture-Protestants.

A fine letter also arrived from Theodore Sedgwick Fay in Dresden. He had been Secretary at the American Legation in Berlin, 1837-1853, was a jurist and an author. He had been converted by Countess Bielandt, a Dutch lady, when he was studying astronomy, from indifference to profound religion. By means of his eminent hospitality, he had the opportunity, during his many years of sojourn in Berlin, to promote associations among his Christian countrymen as well as among those native to Europe. When Dr. Frank Peabody Abbot arrived at Berlin, in 1851, he was greatly attracted to Mr. Fay, later marrying his daughter Caroline Fay. Fay called the Bible the "Guide Book", his conception of it was rather legalistic. He closed his letter to Stuckenberg with these fine words: "May this world, for both of you, when your pilgrimage is over, like a dissolving picture, softly change from our old wintry earth to the new Earth." This in reply to a birthday greeting from the Stuckenbergs.

Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg found many a home open to them in German society. Thus Frau A. von Doering, née Countess Dohna, invited Mrs. Stuckenberg to attend a conference at her home, to learn about the work the German women were doing in missions and to give a lecture about the Woman's Home Missionary Societies in the United



States. In the evening of the same day another meeting, of related nature, was held at the home of Mrs. Davies. She was known for her interest in the Berlin cabmen and their families, having several gatherings for them each year, especially at Christmas, when gifts would be given to them, and Courtpreacher Frommel would address them at some hall or church.

Also Stuckenberg was invited to gatherings of this kind. But he did not neglect his studies in philosophy. On February 28, 1885, he lectured before the Philosophical Society of Berlin on the "Fundamental Problems in Hume." The lecture with the discussion following was later printed, in 1888, in Heft 13 of *Philosophische Vortraege*, published by the Society. In the discussion of his paper, Jurist Kahle, Professor Max Runze, and Professor Georg Lasson took part. They attached far greater importance to Hume's later work, *Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding*, than to his first and most notable work, produced at the age of twenty-four, *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Stuckenberg claimed the *Treatise* was the abler work. He has in this respect been upheld by leading English philosophers, but also by Harald Höffding, the Danish philosopher, so thoroughly at home in English thought. Höffding pronounced the *Treatise* "excellent" and the *Inquiry* an abbreviated, toned-down edition of the *Treatise*. Stuckenberg especially referred to T. H. Green for support of his contention and claimed that Kant had not answered Hume, because Kant knew the *Inquiry* but not the abler work of *Treatise*, as also Stirling had properly set forth in *Mind* (1884-1885). Stuckenberg considered Hume a greater philosopher than did his German fellow members.

The discussion was spirited. Kahle, the most sweeping one of the objectors, suffered most, because he evidently did not know much about Hume. The other opponents were more cautious, but had not followed English research. Max Runze confessed he had learned much from Stuckenberg's objective presentation. When one of the debaters said that he did not regard Hume as important, Stuckenberg calmly

stated he would not waste a word on anyone claiming that a man who at the age of twenty-five had written *Treatise*, was unimportant. He did not bestow unconditional praise on Hume's philosophy; Hume had really confessed that his theory of knowledge was a failure. But what philosopher had solved the problems that Hume had set forth? Stuckenberg explained that Empiricism and Realism were strong in England, but had far less to say in America, due to the thorough intrenchment of German philosophy.

The lecture and entire discussion was in German, and shows Stuckenberg's thorough familiarity with German philosophic discourse. His discourse, *Grundprobleme im Hume* as published, covers 17 pages; what the commentators said 14, and his rebuttal 4. The opinion was universal that he was a thorough student of Hume.

Stuckenberg mingled with philosophers and was one of them, but did he also associate with nobility? Through Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Stuckenberg had become acquainted with Countess Waldersee, one of the most remarkable women of American birth in Germany. She was the daughter of David Lea of New York. At his death, in 1853, Mrs. Lea and her two lovely daughters went to Stuttgart. There her eldest daughter became Baronin von Wächter, marrying Baron von Wächter, who became Ambassador from Württemberg to Paris, where Mary Esther, the younger daughter, who was fifteen when she left the United States, found an affectionate friend in Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein. One day the latter's father, a widower of 64, announced that he would marry Mary Esther. He did marry her, and gave up his title and accepted the simpler title of Count von Noer. Six months later the count died, and the young widow, who had won the esteem of the Austrian Emperor, was created by him Princess of Noer in her own right. In 1866 she married Count Waldersee, who became Count Moltke's successor as Chief of the General Staff and General of Cavalry.

The Leas were Presbyterians while in New York. Mary and her sister had been thoroughly converted in Paris

through letters from America, reporting the wonders of the American revival of religion under the leadership of Charles Finney. Mary was a profoundly pious woman. She never attended a dance after her conversion at seventeen and never a party on a Sunday even in court circles. She and her mother would have their devotion, reading the Bible and singing hymns. The General had often to be absent from home. He and his wife had come to Berlin in 1882. He left for Italy in 1890. Later he was at the head of the joint army expedition against the Boxers. Countess Waldersee's grand niece by her first marriage was Princess Augusta Victoria, who married Emperor William II.

New York papers sensationally wrote that she was the power behind the throne of William II, having more influence over him than did his own wife. She was pictured by an American paper as a woman of intrigue. Mrs. Stuckenberg claims that the picture given was absolutely false. The Countess was too modest, kind, and upright to play politics. She likely did influence, at the start, William II religiously. Bismarck did not care for her type of Christianity, to him it was foreign. He had more of the masculine Christianity, with little respect for what seemed to be sentimental. Perhaps to no other woman did Countess Waldersee reveal her inner life so fully and intimately as to Mrs. Stuckenberg, for whom she later wrote a fine sketch of her life to be used by Mrs. Stuckenberg when she was planning to write brief biographies of Christian men and women. Mrs. Stuckenberg had also gathered ample autobiographical data from Mrs. Davies and Mrs. Abbot.

One of the invitations to tea which Mrs. Stuckenberg received from Countess Waldersee was dated April 22, 1885. It was given for the *Magdalenium*. Court preacher Stöcker and Pastor E. Wiessner were to deliver the addresses.

It happened several times that Stuckenberg would be called to conference with Countess Waldersee at her home, or she would come to his home, when the matters discussed concerned questions of mission work, charity, temperance.



Mrs. Stuckenberg, like her husband, was deeply and actively interested in these problems.

The Countess rarely attended the American services, and never became a member of the American church. She explained as her reason, that she always accompanied her husband to church, whose knowledge of English was so little that a service in English brought him little profit. The dominating characteristic of the distinguished American woman was her Christian loyalty. Wherever she could promote the cause of her Master she found her greatest pleasure, an aim in entire accord with the spirit of her illustrious husband.

The bright warmth of the piety in the elderly couple occupying the War building attracted the Crown Prince. After his daily morning ride in the *Thiergarten* he would call at the Waldersees. This intimacy with the Waldersees, where he would sometimes meet Dr. Stöcker, was one of the most potent reasons for the unpopularity of the young prince in the Berlin press.

The Countess was in constant demand in various lines of German Christian activities, but she asked of the Stuckenbergs that they keep her informed concerning the current religious endeavor in America. She loved the meetings of the "Ladies' Union" of the American church and took part in the discussions. She also followed the work of the "King's Daughters", another organization of this church. She was ever ready to write letters, to place tickets and to be otherwise helpful, claiming a part in the work of the Americans, for reasons of patriotism, as well as of interest in Christ's kingdom. At times she made voluntary contributions to one and another of their objects; but never but once did they approach her for money in behalf of their cause, because the needs of Germany in this regard were so overwhelming. In religious charity work she was one of the most outstanding contributors in Germany. She had inherited much wealth from her father; besides, in marriage she had additional wealth to draw from.

Her aid in the various branches of activity of the Amer-



ican church was of the inspiring kind. She with her mother contributed the first thousand dollars toward the American building fund, when this was started, and later, as long as she remained in Berlin, she gave her personal assistance and lent her influence towards securing further contributions, also enlisting the interest of the Empress. However, since Germany, as was said above, was in such great need of money for her own Christian work, the American church refrained from appealing to her majesty for financial aid. She, however, made a contribution of royal porcelain for a fair in America which brought a substantial sum to the church.

Countess Waldersee did much for the German Y. M. C. A. As president of the Woman's Auxiliary she tactfully managed to get the coöperation of the American men in the Y. M. C. A. project, the men being elected members of the *Beirath* and the women of the Woman's Auxiliary. The Count himself was an earnest Christian, who gave liberally to the Y. M. C. A., and was for some time its president.

The dominant character of the countess was loyalty to Christ. She wrote many letters to Mrs. Stuckenberg, after the General was transferred to Altoona. Her letters show a childlike trust in Christ. She was also an ardent supporter of the Christian Alliance movement. Both the General and she would visit the Stuckenberg home in Berlin.

The presence of these two in a home was one of grace and naturalness, and had nothing of the aloofness, which Adolf Harnack noticed among the nobility at court, where the princess and princesses and the rest of aristocracy that were present, would guardingly surround the Emperor (William II) so as to keep away the atmosphere of civilians, who might release an idea quite strange to royal tradition, and where they would remark about the strange ways of Adolf Harnack, when present, to deviate from the subject of conversation with the Emperor, start a new subject without waiting for the Emperor to take the initiative as Agnes von Zahn-Harnack relates in her charming book *Adolf von Harnack*, 1936.

Nobility need not be identical with pride. Men of nobility would often seek the company of Stuckenberg. Most devoted to him were Marcard and Count Bernstorff. He would often have professional and social dealings with the court preachers, especially with Adolf Stöcker. The two often exchanged visits, Stöcker several times came to address Stuckenberg's Sunday evening gatherings, and he would now and then come with an English speech that he had written for delivery in England, and have its language looked over by Stuckenberg. Their interests and views respecting Christian social work were much the same. But Stuckenberg could not share the court preacher's strong anti-Semitism and told him so.

However, all Jews were not chosen Jews in the eyes of Stuckenberg either. He took a Jewish physician at Wiesbaden most severely and properly to task for making an improper advance. He cherished no racial antipathy, but noticed with displeasure the financial scheming of the Berlin Jew and his grip upon the press and book world to form, steer, and guide public opinion.

Countess Waldersee wrote many letters to Mrs. Stuckenberg; but there is one, a little note, that was addressed by her to Stuckenberg, which, because of the reference to the Emperor and his enemies, merits publication here. Stuckenberg had written to her on his short visit in 1888 in America, telling about the church canvass.

Berlin, 27/10, 1888.

Dear Dr. Stuckenberg,

I thank you much, for your welcome letter giving news of your good wife and the progress of her and your work and also for the Homiletic Review and for the kind way in which you speak of *me*. All this *touched* me! Although I do not feel that I, in any way, deserve any praise, for the little that the Lord enables me to do, as it is a joy and privilege to work for Him, the dear Master. In this, I know, you both fully sympathize with me. I am glad and grateful that you are counteracting false reports about our noble Emperor, which have been so unworthily circulated by his enemies (mostly

Jews, I think); and if the opportunity offers for me ever to help you, I should embrace it with pleasure. Give Mama's and my love to your wife when you write, and believe me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

COUNTESS WALDERSEE.

Your articles are excellent.

His preaching, writing, studying kept him well occupied. He polemicised against Materialism and its violent prophets, men like Ludwig Büchner and Ernst Häckel. But he also criticised the more cautious investigators like Emil du Bois-Reymond and Rudolf Virchow, who rejected Materialism but nevertheless used their influence against religion. He rather approved that Helmholtz was so devoted to his scientific pursuits, that the students did not learn his ultimate views respecting the nature of ultimate substance.

In his articles for the *Homiletic Review* at this period he describes scores of theologians, almost "parsing" them, after the analogy of the verb. By 1903 he must have described several hundred of them, the majority being German; some French, English, and American, and a few Scandinavians and Dutch added, though Stuckenberg's lack of knowledge in Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian prevented him from a first hand acquaintance with the works of Scandinavian theologians.

It may here be fitting to learn his opinion of German preaching. In contrasting some of the preaching of the past with the then current, he says in *Homiletic Review* (1885, vol. X:)

Many sermons now preached are full of life and spirit, are popular in character, and are delivered with animation. The new life which has entered the pulpits shows its effects in filling the pews. Americans are frequently disappointed because they do not find that learning in the sermons which they expected. Speaking to Tholuck on this subject some years ago, he said: We keep our learned discussions for the university; in the pulpit we want to be simple and popular. Other German believers have told me that it is not scholarship they want in the sermons, but that which edifies. The German preacher does not bring a learned essay into the pulpit, though Scriptural depth is by no means lacking. The scholarly air is avoided

rather than sought. The text is usually long—frequently the Gospel or Epistle for the day; and all the prominent features of the text are included and explained in the two, or three, or four divisions of the subject. The long text evidently promotes the Scriptural character of the sermon. Taking the central or some leading thought in the passage of Scripture, the preacher groups around it all the other ideas, and uses them to illustrate and enforce the subjects drawn from the text. The matter thus formed is usually so rich that the minister is not obliged to resort to other sources for suggestive thoughts. Short texts are the exception. . . . Sometimes the sermons are wholly exegetical, as in the case with many by Steinmeyer and Beck, formerly university preachers in Berlin and Tübingen. But usually the exegesis is specially applied to the condition of the hearers. The German evangelical preacher does not, however, venture to treat his text as a mere motto; it furnishes him with his theme and the sphere in which he is expected to move. The most popular preachers do not go out of their way to seek the novel or sensational; but they put life, business, politics, literature, and all that concerns the human heart under the focus of the Divine Word.

Julius Müller, while University Preacher in Göttingen, combined philosophical depth with his exegesis, and had the gift of adapting spiritual truth to thinkers. Tholuck, as university preacher, was popular and full of life, preaching from experience to experience. Christlieb is hearty, his sermons revealing the conviction that the world is lost, and an intense desire for its salvation. Gerok is affectionate, paternal, speaking as a father to his children, pleading with them for Christ's sake to yield themselves to God. Kögel, first court preacher in Berlin, is stately, aristocratic in bearing, and his sermons have scholarly finish rather than popular characteristics. Frommel, a favorite court preacher of the Emperor, is a poet, a genial companion; and all these qualities appear in his sermons. His abundant figures remind one of Krummacher. Stöcker, another court preacher, is by far the most popular in matter and manner, and is thoroughly a man of the people. A political agitator, a member of parliament and of the legislature, directing the missionary and numerous benevolent operations of Berlin, and leading the Christian socialistic movement, he has developed an astounding activity. His anti-Semitic agitations have aroused many antagonisms, and have made him the object of bitter hate. He, more than any other man, has broken down the barriers between the pulpit and the great currents of popular life. His nature is intense, and he is an extremist; unguarded utterances have subjected him to severe attacks. Not a few think that his activity transcends the limits of the preacher—particularly of a court preacher. His course, whatever there may be true and false in it, is a striking illustration of the conviction that



ministers must go to the people if they want the people to come to them. Dryander, called a few years ago from Berne to Berlin, now preaches from the pulpit formerly occupied by Schleiermacher. He has remarkable gifts for applying Scripture to the deepest experience of life. He is so popular that his church is generally uncomfortably full. Of the many illustrations that the pulpit has not lost its power, he is one of the most eminent.

A somewhat similar description is given by Stuckenberg three years later, in *Homiletic Review*, August, 1888, p. 168.

Stuckenberg goes on to relate that German ministers outline their sermons in the study, and then elaborate them mentally, or else write them out in full and preach *memoriter*. He had never seen one having a manuscript in the pulpit, except Professor Beck, of Tübingen, who read closely, but was not dull, the excellence of his matter always drawing large congregations.

"A seriousness and solemnity pervade the German congregations which are frequently lacking in American churches. Even a rationalistic preacher would not dare to use the slang and witticism which some American audiences tolerate. Smart sayings which provoke mirth rather than edification, are regarded as a profanation of the sacred."

This, though, is elaborated by Stuckenberg in *Homiletic Review*, December, 1888, p. 346.

He closes this most excellent survey by saying that the homiletical literature in Germany was exceedingly rich and was rapidly increasing.

§ 5. A Take-Off: Final Science. Professor Teichmüller—The Humboldt Cosmos-desk—Evening-Gatherings in New Home—The Baptism of Rabinowitsch

In 1885 a book of 195 pages, called *Final Science, or Spiritual Materialism* was published anonymously by Funk & Wagnalls. Its author was Stuckenberg. The book itself appeared to be a defense of materialism against the criticism of theologians and philosophers of non-materialistic schools, regardless of their religious profession. Its real aim, however, was to meet the revival of materialism, by showing its inherent impotence. Moleschott, Büchner,

Feuerbach, Vogt had advocated it in gross form about the middle of the century. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Haeckel, John Tyndall, Ueberweg, were renewing it, in a gentler form. Fr. Albert Lange, in his thorough-going *History of Materialism*, accepted materialism as a method, but rejected it as metaphysics, asserting that matter and atom are not realities but auxiliary concepts created by the mind. Stuckenberg had already presented an excellent summary of the claims of materialism in the *Homiletic Review*, in February, 1884. In the world of so-called enlightened folk, the theories of Spencer and Darwin were considered by many as authoritative: They were "final". Materialism attacked religion; and its loudest advocates were found among physicians. Stuckenberg under the mask of sincerity discusses how materialism, or this final science, has been attacked. He makes belief that he comes to its rescue, as if he were a materialist. The whole exposition is veiled, and some readers failed to see the real motive and aim of the writing.

There is frolic in this book. It abounds in rich satire. Materialism is presented as embarrassed, especially at a volume by Gustav Teichmüller, professor in the University of Dorpat. He declares that the real world of matter is only phenomenal, and he permits a personal God to usurp the place of atoms. Even Virchow and Wundt are ushered in as skeptical of materialism. Stuckenberg makes the materialist "laugh at the heartbroken sentimentalists." "Why should the materialist worry? He soars above the clouds and basks in eternal sunshine . . . man's agonizing efforts to free himself from nature's bondage are simply intended . . . to create a sphere for poetry and romance. . . . They make genius possible . . . they have evolved the most sublime conceptions which ever stirred human hearts; they have kindled eloquence, and have incited to all that is highest in art; they inspired the sacred books of the East . . . they gave birth to all that is noble and grand in history." For the materialist religion is merely the offspring of natural selection.

But no matter how the praises of materialism were sung,

the deep undertone is: weighed in the balance and found wanting. Of course, that was inevitable, considering the position of the writer. But behind the mask was not only mirth, but serious inquiry, aiming at objectiveness. Yet what a sunny, mirthful disposition the author reveals. He nowhere used keener sarcasm: nowhere else does the pungency of his logic act so instantly. The reason for it lies in the bravado of the assumptions. He struck at whatever disparaged truth; and he struck hard. He had respect neither for the scientific laboratory nor the clerical garb to the extent of cowling before their pretensions. Truth, truth alone deserved respect. In his theological controversy he used merciless logic against sham and pretension, especially against utterances that veiled deep ignorance. Like Adolph Harnack he regarded any man as immoral who, presumably of scientific age, delivered definite opinions or information on matters respecting which he was ignorant. His composition was strong and manly.

Stuckenberg agreed with Kant that the whole problem of force and matter runs into a theory of knowledge. He was of the opinion that nothing short of a philosophical work on Power could overcome theoretical materialism. This Power, he asserted, is non-mechanistic, non-materialistic. Reference has been made before to the lost manuscript *Power*, written by Stuckenberg. Compared with *Power*, *Final Science* is playful and popular, though it, too, is strictly scientific. Though written more than fifty years ago, it still might receive, from the supporters of a mechanical world view, many an approving nod and never be felt as a satire.

An allusion was made in *Final Science* to Dr. Gustav Teichmüller, of Dorpat. A reader of the book, Richmond Z. Fest, who had been a fellow student of Teichmüller, sent it to the latter, who took it for granted that Fest, the donor, was its author. Teichmüller made an interesting note of it in a work which he later published. Mr. Fest now made a search for the real author and obtained information confidentially from the publishers. He let it go at that. But when

Dr. Teichmüller's *Religionsphilosophie* was published, in 1888, Mr. Fest, "startled and confounded" to find his own name associated with the book, wrote an explanation to the publisher and to the Dorpat professor, who made handsome amends to Stuckenberg and gave him as the author in the new edition of his *Religionsphilosophie*. Finally, Mr. Fest related the whole matter to Stuckenberg.

Years later on a visit to Berlin, Dr. Teichmüller looked up the American preacher in his home, attended with his daughter services in the American chapel. Correspondence with Stuckenberg followed; but the Dorpat authority on Aristotle died, in 1888. His philosophy had much in common with that of Lotze, with a strong metaphysical bent.

In the summer of 1885, Mrs. Stuckenberg visited America. She spent the better part of the time with her parents in Erie, but also visited Springfield, where she supervised the removal of the furniture and eighteen boxes of books which Stuckenberg had stored at Dr. Sprecher's, who now was moving to California. Sprecher did not seem to be as cordial as of old. Stuckenberg explained: "I have written to Sprecher heartily. His letter is curt, but I suppose he is ill—perhaps still feels my refusal to return to Wittenberg."

Just before Mrs. Stuckenberg left for her short stay in America, she and her husband moved to an apartment in *Bülows Strasse* 18. This was their third home in Berlin. They remained in it until they returned, eight years later to the United States. On her return to Germany, Mrs. Stuckenberg, to whom Berlin now became greater and lovelier than ever, after comparing its possibilities with those of America, took charge of this new residence. She and her husband had acquired considerable new furniture and household goods at high class auctions, and by individual purchases in May of that year they bought some furniture from Mr. Brewer, Consul General; some from Mr. Kasson, the returning U. S. Minister; some from Schultze-Delitzsch's effects, and some entirely new things from Bibers and Herzogs.



However, what especially gladdened the heart of Stuckenberg was not so much the elegant furniture, once the property of high officials, as the "Humboldt Desk" and the Humboldt "Secretary". The former was the desk on which Alexander von Humboldt had written his *Cosmos*. It was advertised as Humboldt's *grosser Schreibtisch* (*Kosmos-tisch*), a gift of his brother Wilhelm von Humboldt. Before making these purchases, Stuckenberg took pains to assure himself that the articles were genuine. Through authenticated certificates of Johannes Seifert and his daughter Agnes (Seifert was Alexander von Humboldt's heir), and repeated conversations with Johannes Arnoldt, who had bought the desk and the secretary from the Seiferts, Stuckenberg was rightly convinced that these objects had been the property of the famous explorer.

Stuckenberg celebrated Independence Day in 1885, in a very happy mood: "On July 4, in the evening, the objects came, to my great joy. The table is a constant source of inspiration." On this he was to write most of his works. It graced his home, also after 1894, in Cambridge, and was after the demise of her husband always Mrs. Stuckenberg's most useful piece of furniture until her death.

It was a rich and immense affair in mahogany, with all kinds of drawers, also secret drawers. It was 81 inches by 38 inches; its height 31 inches. A rim, two and one-half inches high, protected the top on three sides. Accompanying it was a large mirror. The *Secretair* was also an elegant piece of furniture. This also had secret drawers. The purchase included many relics of Humboldt's which were in the desk: Humboldt's inkstand; the last candle he used; one dozen of his quill pens and the glass which contained them; his snuffers; his india rubber; his pencil holder; his plate for printing his cards; a blank book marked "Finances" on the back: some paper with his handwriting; some stones with ditto, fifteen of his champagne glasses; cigarettes presented to him by the celebrated traveller, Sir Robert Hermann Schomburgk; a bamboo box with poisoned arrows, "presented by the same;" a vessel for sand; a small

glass with content, perhaps vegetable; a potsherd; stone with petrified shell: another (in three pieces) with impression of fern; a small screen; together with other objects, among them a paper entitled *Pleurocladia*.

On November 10, Luther's birthday, he purchased from an art dealer a genuine van Dyke small picture, painted on ivory, of Rubens and his wife. This, too, graced his new home, in which he had so many other articles of art, paintings and statuary, books and maps.

During Mrs. Stuckenberg's sojourn in America, he travelled with the nieces in northern Germany, Bohemia, and Switzerland. In Hanover his curiosity was aroused by reading on the large Soldier's monument the name "Muskatier Stuckenberg aus Rieste", who had fallen in the Franco-Prussian war. Since this was his father's home, he wondered whether the deceased was a relative, though his father had stated in a letter that he had left no relatives in Europe.

In November he got the first printed copy of *Final Science*. Hon. S. L. Fay, Dr. and Mrs. Abbot, Professor and Mrs. Mead spoke of it in glowing terms. Mr. Fay sent a very long letter, commenting in the most hearty and enthusiastic terms on the satire, which the *Lutheran Observer*—alas—took to be the writing of an atheist!

Philosophy had a grip on Stuckenberg which never left him. He was working at a major book in the subject which appeared in 1888, and which within ten years went through six editions.

But he was a sociologist also, more and more steering toward it as a new science of growing importance. He took the theorist's view of it, regarding the practical side of it as the application of warrantable theory. But he was now being drawn to the social problem of temperance. He began in 1885 to make investigations regarding temperance work and wrote an article, *The Liquor Traffic in Germany*, which appeared in the "Voice", July 2, preceded by several letters in the same paper, all being signed "Germanicus". The article gives a digest of opinions held by German scien-

tists as to the injury of alcohol beverages, and criticizes severely those "who speak and act as if Germany had given nothing to the world but beer."

Another event in which he was greatly interested was more of a religious than social nature, though the discussion of race to-day would probably consider it as not without bearing on the social. It was the baptism of a Jew, which for Jewry, as Russia knew it, had social implications, by which both Russia and Jewry would feel themselves affected and would restrict or retaliate accordingly.

He wrote on March 24, 1885: "This afternoon I was present at the baptism of Joseph Rabinowitsch, of Southern Russia, a Jew who has been converted to Christianity, and is going back to labor in the land of the Czar. The baptism was not publicly known, but about 40 persons, specially invited, were present. It was very solemn. Poor fellow—what persecution, even death, may await him from the fury of his brethren according to the flesh. He must be 60 and seems quite resolute. He spoke to me of his position at home, surrounded by his enemies. . . . He realizes the danger he is in. . . . With three kisses I bid him farewell, but am to meet him again this evening at Mrs. Davies. . . . His seriousness and bearing won my whole heart. I shall henceforth follow his career with unusual interest." He was baptized by Professor Mead.

Rabinowitsch joined no organized church. Russia did not permit him to organize a congregation or to baptize. But he preached Christ in the synagogues for the Israelites of the new covenant. He became a teacher in the institute *Delitzschianum* in Leipzig. He died in 1899.

Residing in their new home, the Stuckenbergs opened it in the fall for Sunday evening gatherings for the American students and attendants of his church. About seventy appeared at the first meeting. The number increased, as the years went by, to 200, when people could come only by invitation, due to the want of room. The wide doors were flung open, so the residence had the appearance of a hall. Stuckenberg's first lectures, five of them, were on Socialism.

Then followed lectures on his favorites: Tholuck, Julius Müller, J. Dorner, on "Reason and Faith." Three lectures were given to Education. Court preacher Stöcker addressed the group two evenings, and Hodgson Pratt three or four. Thoughtful students came regularly. "These meetings have revealed to me a new power for doing good," wrote Stuckenberg.

Music and refreshments became also a part of these meetings. One of the earliest letters in recognition of these gatherings came at the beginning of 1886 from James R. Reynold. He had been a visitor at them, and recognized their value, "since so many came to Germany with superficial ideas, and returned, uncorrected, doing great injustice to the state of things."

The following description of the life in the Stuckenberg home during the years 1890-1893, contained in a letter of one who was a relative of the family, is in general applicable to the entire period of the Stuckenbergs' stay in Berlin; it pictures the spirit of that Berlin home.

"Bülow Street 18 was about two blocks from the present site of the American Church near Nollendorfplatz. Today an Ober- und Unterbahn goes down the middle of the street, which had in the early nineties a promenade with linden-trees. The little Methodist Church, in which the Americans met for Sunday worship after the German congregation had finished its morning service was reached by taking the trolley. The autumn horde of Americans in Berlin, who came with letters or for counsel, was always met at the double-door of their (the Stuckenbergs') flat by a pleasant maid, Clara or Augusta. Each comer was ushered into the square reception room, where Mrs. Stuckenberg met them from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. in September and October, until they were settled in the *pensions* of which she kept an accredited list. Dr. Stuckenberg never saw the inquirers until one o'clock, when he had a *Sprechstunde* until two. . . . Stuckenberg's study . . . was a warmly attractive room with three double doors, which could be opened to the hall and to two separate rooms, one of which in turn had double doors opening to the big 'round-room', which was the chief attraction of this apartment; it had again double doors into the reception rooms, so that the whole apartment could be thrown together for the Sunday evening meetings, attended by 200-250 Americans.

"The roundroom was beautiful with its thick Persian rug, low



velvet Watteau-pictures, chairs and four large handsomely curtained windows rounding out the circle of rooms. Here all the groups of Women's meetings were gathered for morning lectures by Frau Dr. Hempel or afternoon groups of King's Daughters.

"Sunday morning belonged to Dr. Stuckenberg decidedly. . . . He preached acceptably because the church was always full. His wife met all the strangers at the door immediately after church and made friends of them. In summer little groups came because of an invitation at the door from her to supper. I remember one group: Principal Fairbairn of Edinburgh . . . together with Dr. and Mrs. Wishard, missionaries to Persia, who stopped on their way to the field. . . .

"The life in that house was extremely busy and cheerful. Mrs. Stuckenberg kept her husband's time free of all the problems of all these people by meeting them herself. One woman used to say that Mrs. Stuckenberg could never be lonely in heaven because she would know by name, home-town, and business all the Americans who reached there via Berlin. . . . No one can ever get a perfect conception of Mary Stuckenberg at her best, who did not know her in those fourteen years of their life in Berlin. She loved her work among the Americans and they loved her. Her servants were good enough to keep her house going without too much attention on her part, so that she was quite free to exercise her hospitality and kindness to the full, and *that* she did to the delight of her guests. That home was a beautiful place. Each servant girl liked her place well enough to pass it on to a friend, when she married. They liked the privilege of marketing and of having the same fare to eat as the family. Every Christmas advent added new joys to the ever hospitable home. Mrs. Stuckenberg dearly loved a Christmas tree and always had a large one. Of course, she received many interesting gifts from her admirers in the church.

"Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg were not in Berlin when the American Church was built. Its chief window is dedicated to Mrs. Stuckenberg, whom Mr. Turner, its last pastor, called the most important person connected with the church.

"Many other meetings besides those referred to above took place in the home on *Bülów Street*; for instance, the Church Sessions; even the first temperance society for Germans was organized in that home. Baron von Knobelsdorf was active in this. . . ."

Perhaps nothing in the lives of Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg has endeared them so much in the hearts of American youth, who went to Berlin, to their thoughtful parents, to serious minded professors on furlough as these meetings inaugurated in *Bülów Street* 18 in the year of 1885.

- § 6. Daily Routine—School of Mrs. Mary B. Willard—Circle of Count Bernstorff—The German Y. M. C. A.—His Maps and the Venezuela Boundary Dispute

The daily routine work of Stuckenberg on week days when not on vacation, was to work at his desk from seven in the morning till noon, which would generally result in twenty pages of manuscript. After dinner came the *Sprechstunde* when both he and Mrs. Stuckenberg were very much occupied for about two hours. Released from further care, he would sally forth for a vigorous walk somewhere in the open, in the earlier years into the *Thiergarten*, but later, when living at Bülow Street, to Grunewald, which was a royal forest of coniferous trees and about 11,000 acres in area, a most refreshing resort with paths through the woods and along the lakes. Here at a restaurant he would have his afternoon coffee, and after that a fresh walk of an hour or more amid wooded hills. Here he was as alert as a live boy to see what the wild animals were about and he frequently roused an echo for sheer joy. Usually he had no one for companion but his wife. If he would have to go alone, he would put a volume of poetry in his pocket before leaving the house. Then to the Royal Library or to the Journal rooms to keep himself abreast of the movements in various departments of the world's thought. After supper he would again sit down to his desk, but likely to retire not later than ten. The Abbots had social gatherings on Thursday evenings until 1886, when Dr. Abbot passed away. Stuckenberg used to visit these. They then ceased, or rather, were absorbed by the Sunday evening meetings at the parsonage.

It was about this time, 1885-86, that Mary B. Willard founded her school in Berlin, for young women. She became one of the most important factors in the church. She was daughter of Professor Bannister of the Garrett Biblical Institute; her sister-in-law was Frances Willard. Mrs. Willard was a woman of education and great initiative, who entered upon the church work with enthusiasm, the church becoming one of her chief interests. By means of

her relation with her successive groups of teachers, she exerted much influence upon the development of life in the American colony. For after 1885 one could speak of a colony. Her pupils were from homes of influence in the United States and carried back valuable results owing to the range of Mrs. Willard's interests, and the generosity with which she secured advantages of travel and local advantages for those under her charge. Naturally, with any one so active there would arise divergence of views or methods that would confuse an issue for a brief period. But there could be no misunderstanding regarding her spirit; and methods of coöperation would be resumed. She had social gatherings on Friday nights, more or less open for the American public and German acquaintances. Stuckenberg would occasionally attend these, too. And before he became official pastor, he would give lectures in her drawing room, sometimes a series of them. Later this had to cease, as his work increased.

The American students in the University were students of medicine, theology, languages, physics, chemistry, history, philosophy, etc. Some would attend technical institutions. Others again would be students of music, of painting, etc. There would be Japanese students, who felt much at home in American society. There would also be English and sometimes Germans who were fond of American company. A good many of these would generally seek counsel with the Stuckenbergs. The Germans, being no strangers in their own country, would naturally not need American advice; and such of them as felt they did, would be considerate of hospitality, and modestly refrain from anything that might savor of forwardness.

The Stuckenberg home became for sojourning Americans what the Abbot home had been, only on a larger scale. They would come to get information about favorable boarding places, or about homes of culture where there would be opportunity, for instance, to converse in German. These homes might be those of ministers, officials, musicians, scholars. Information would be sought about the character

of this or that *Pension*, many of which were conducted by women of culture and refinement. Some would inquire about professors, their courses, the value of these courses, about hospitals and physicians. The specifically pastoral problems of more religious nature will be discussed elsewhere.

To many, Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg's parsonage was a favorite gathering center. Elderly folks, ministers, and professors on furlough, parents with sons or daughters would make their calls, when a lively conversation would follow about travel, colleges and seminaries, preachers, theology, philosophy, music, industry, politics, even military matters.

Queer as it may seem, it was in Germany that Stuckenberg got information from an expert eye witness why General Howard lost out at the battle of Chancellorsville in the Civil War, a battle that Stuckenberg witnessed, but from his own side. One evening in the spring of 1886 he met a Prussian officer who served at Lee's staff during the war between the North and the South, and who was present at the battle when the attack was made on the Union Right, which led to the rout of General Howard's corps. According to this officer, says Stuckenberg, "our flank was not protected by cavalry. . . They came 'into the pots' of our men—that is, surprised them. From the account given, there was criminal blunder on our side. I saw much of the rout and, after hearing him, can understand it much better than before."

Naturally, topics so stimulating as military matters, politics, and industry could not appear foreign to visitors in Berlin, that city, in which there lived in the eighties, a man so dominating in politics as Bismarck, whose sole aim as a statesman was to establish Prussian supremacy in Germany; a man so devoted to soldiery as Moltke, ready to protect Germany's life, property, and honor; and a king so concerned about industry as William I, whose message, November 17, 1881, to the German Diet—a message which, according to Bismarck, the king himself, without counsel, worked



out—demanded that the Diet pass laws giving protection to the laborer—a document that introduced modern German social reform, as Professor E. Foerster has aptly said.

Americans coming from a land of confessed Democracy, (which can make no concession to anything that gets in the way of the sovereignty of majority) to a land for whose working class no other criterion could exist than the attainment of more favorable social conditions of existence, would naturally welcome conversations and discussions about socialism and industry. And these two topics play a very important role in so much of what Stuckenberg spoke and wrote, both in Berlin and later in the United States.

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Apparently remote from all this, was map buying. Stuckenberg invested some of his small savings in rare pictures and antiquities. Many others have done that, too. But he bought maps, by the hundreds, so that some American newspapers would speak of him as the "map hunter," and others even called him the "greatest map collector" in the United States. He disclaimed both the designations. But he really was fond of acquiring maps; and, before he left Berlin, he had purchased close to 900 maps.

In his collection the most valuable item was the Mercator of 1607 with 146 maps; the Homann collection with 184 maps; 97 single American maps; approximately 325 single maps of Europe, Asia, Africa; 200 others, including some duplicates of Homann. The American maps are from the sixteenth to the close of the eighteenth century. On one of the Hennepin maps from 1755, the spot now occupied by Chicago, is covered by these words, "River and Port de Checagou." Lake Erie is called "Lake of the Cat," Ohio River is denominated the "Beautiful River." Long Island appears as "Long Island, or Yorkshire." Lake Michigan is called "Lake Illinois," Lake Huron is called "Lake Michigan." On one of the Mercator maps, made in 1587, the continent of America is designated as "New India." On several maps prior to 1600 the name "Norumbega" oc-

cupies a prominent place on the spot now called Massachusetts. A map of New York city, from 1650, represents it when it was a village of 20 or 30 houses and had a number of grotesque windmills; it was then called "New Amsterdam." One map shows the line of demarcation, drawn in 1493 by Pope VI, between the Western World and the Old World. A map of 1579 calls Mexico "New Spain." A map of 1650 has assigned the name of "River of the Holy Spirit" to the Mississippi river. California is described as an island. A map of Philadelphia shows this city and its environment as they appeared in 1777; in addition, this map gives a good picture of the City Hall of that date. As late as 1613 the mysterious word "Chilage" appears on the maps. Stuckenberg could not determine what this word meant; it is also found on a number of maps before 1600. One of the rarest, of about 1700, shows Surinam, which was given by the English to the Dutch for New York. In some places the word America is printed "Emerica." The curious drawing of the Polar region represents it as an open sea.

Several of these maps had once been the property of Alexander von Humboldt. One of them, donated to him by Schomburgk, gives the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, drawn by Schomburgk himself, who had been sent in 1841 by England to define the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. England had acquired the latter territory in 1804 without any agreement as to how far the boundary should extend towards the West. Schomburgk drew the line far west, and increased the territory of Venezuela by 50,000 square miles. A controversy, however, arose between England and Venezuela as to territory. It lasted several years, when finally England in 1886 proclaimed that it would not recognize the pretensions of Venezuela east of the Schomburgk line.

Venezuela now asked the United States for help. In 1887 President Cleveland offered mediation. Later, by appealing to the Monroe doctrine, Minister Olney sent a note to England requesting, in substance, that she keep her

hands off. Cleveland touched the matter in his message in 1895, and suggested that a Boundary Commission take steps to investigate the problem. Its decision should be final and be upheld, if necessary, by force. This looked like war. The English Premier was not perturbed, to start with; but the Lower House regarded the matter serious enough to request Cleveland for settlement by arbitration.

The Commission, appointed to investigate and report the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana, began to function. It made a diligent search for maps.

On December 21, Stuckenberg addressed a letter to President Cleveland stating he had hundreds of maps which he would be glad to have the commission examine. Assistant Secretary Allen wrote the answer to Stuckenberg, who now stated, when discussing his maps: "Humboldt's map I have not mentioned, because it is no doubt at your command. His remarks on Schomburgk's travel and map made in 1841, are probably within reach of the Commission." Other letters on the subject came to Stuckenberg, from Marcus Baker, member of the Commission, and from Justin Windsor, Librarian at Harvard. The Venezuela question was finally settled in 1899. In the mean time, the Schomburgk map was reproduced by a New York paper, which gave Stuckenberg \$300 for the use of it, and the explanation which he wrote, incidentally showing the importance of this one map.<sup>19</sup>

He was interested not only in maps, but also in the results of excavations. Thus he related in May, 1886, that he had just returned "with a party of Americans from the Schliemann Collection, which is not open yet to the public, but for which I secured a special permit." Schliemann's field of operation was on the shore of Asia Minor. But Stuckenberg also learned new things about Egypt by associating with Mr. Neville from Geneva. On the day before seeing the Schliemann collection, he dined at Count Bernstorff's, where he met Mr. Neville, an Egyptian archeologist who had been conducting explorations in Egypt for

the English Egyptian Expedition. He found him to be an interesting person.

Among all Germans, Stuckenberg associated most with Count Andreas von Bernstorff, who was born in 1844 in England, where his father was German Ambassador. He was a diplomat, and since 1880 Councillor in the Department of Religious Education. He was active in the work of the Evangelical Alliance, whose president he was since 1891, also very active for the Sunday school and for legislation favoring Sunday rest. He was a representative of *Gemeinschafts-Christentum*, influenced by English Christianity, and proved himself to be a tireless worker for the German Y. M. C. A.

The German Y. M. C. A. had been founded in 1883, by Friederich von Schlümbach, who had gone to America at 17, had become a Methodist preacher and had been sent as a representative of the American Y. M. C. A. to a convention in London, whence he came to Germany. He later returned to America, to preach in Ohio. The first President of the German organization was Eberhard von Rothkirch, trained to be an officer and forester. He had been gained for "conscious Christianity" by Schlümbach and Count Pückler. Rothkirch was a man of exceptional gifts in soul cure. The first Secretary of the German Y. M. C. A. was Christian Phildus, a German merchant, an indefatigable executive. Count Bernstorff did all he could to promote the new organization. In fact, so abundant was the time and the labors that he contributed to numerous current religious activities of the period that one might infer that he was altogether a man of leisure. His wife shared his devotion to public Christian activity. Dr. Stöcker, it may be said here, was not quite ready to coöperate with the Y. M. C. A.

This group, to which also the Waldersees belonged, was influenced by American and English Christianity of the activist type. There was nothing wrong in the ethical which they enthusiastically manifested, and the dogmatic bases they severally built upon, may have differed. In contacting with them one learned little more than that strong



element in their nature which was given to the work of the Lord, and in these activities what they sought to impart and receive. Count Bernstorff was regularly asked each winter to give an account of the state church at the Stuckenberg gatherings. In "Our Day", July, 1889, an article of his appeared under the heading *Church and State in Germany*. The Stuckenbergs were instrumental in having it published. As Court chaplain to emperor William I, he wrote for the "Boston Evening Transcript", December 22, 1900, a fascinating article on *Christmas in the Fatherland*. In this too, the Stuckenbergs were the kind intermediators.

A glimpse of the work they devoted their spare time to, may be obtained from the following, which describes a meeting at the Waldersees which has been referred to before: "About two weeks ago," wrote Stuckenberg, "I went to tea in the interest of Magdalen institute, various societies having Magdalen work for their objective. Addresses were made by Stöcker and others, the ladies all the while sewing or knitting. An elaborate tea followed, rather a supper. The Count and Countess were very pleasant and it was a pleasure to meet them in their own elegant home."

From this visit to the home of the man who in 1888 became Fieldmarshall, or Chief of the General Staff of the German army, succeeding Count Moltke, Stuckenberg takes us to a Sunday evening at Stöcker. Quite a large company was there. "I was very hoarse. In the afternoon a number of persons had met there to hear a lady from the Baltic provinces give an account of the condition of the evangelical church there. The impression made by her was such as to make all anxious that something should be done for their relief, but it is hard to tell what to do. Countess Waldersee suggested that I was the person to consult about bringing the matter before the American public, and it was thought that American influence would tell most in Russia. . . . I also consulted Count Bernstorff . . . about the affair, but we had nothing definite. Professor Schaff, of the

Evangelical Alliance, is expected here soon, and we hope to get at something practical when he comes."

§ 7. Birthday of William I—Speech of Bismarck—Funeral of Ranke—The Royal Library—Visitors

The spring of 1886 was eventful for Stuckenberg, bringing three eminent persons before his mind, for whom he had the profoundest regard. Three events were significant in this connection. It was a birthday celebration of Emperor William I, who was 89; a visit to the *Reichstag* in which Stuckenberg for the first time heard Bismarck speak; and the funeral of the great historian Leopold Ranke.

On March 22, he "went to the University at nine in the morning to get tickets for the birthday celebration." Unable to get them there he proceeded to the University Rector Kleinert and got an order for one. The street *Unter den Linden* near the palace was crowded with people. "Thousands were waiting to see the Emperor. He appeared at a window, greeted the crowd who cheered vociferously. The Empress sat just behind him. He looked fresh and was erect as usual. I saw him again about twelve, and in the evening at six coming from the palace of the Crown Prince. Professor Curtius delivered the address at the University on 'Royalty among the Ancients.' It was a glorification of royalty. In the evening I heard Court preacher Frommel before the *Krieger-Verein*. His sermon showed his loving appreciation of the Emperor. In walking home, I saw the illumination—very magnificent."

A few days later, we find Stuckenberg in the *Reichstag*. He was aware that the Socialist law was the order of the day. He secured admission, and to his great joy "Prince Bismarck was the second speaker, replying to some remarks of the day before made by Bebel, the leader of the Social Democrats." Bebel had made some unhappy remarks, which Bismarck now used to prove that Social Democracy favored regicide. "Bismarck spoke slowly, and anything but fluently. Frequently the words stick in his

throat and he completes his sentence with difficulty. This afternoon he spoke hesitatingly, rarely getting out a few sentences without halting. He is hardly ever a tolerable speaker. But everybody listened most attentively, because it was Bismarck, and his words carried the weight of his reputation and authority with them."

He goes on to relate that when Bismarck finished, Bebel arose for reply, "a spare, young, dark man who did not look as if he could wield such an extensive leadership." He replied to Bismarck and several other who had attacked his views, particularly to Stöcker whom he seems to hate cordially. "He appeared fearless and spoke with confidence. When he was through, Bismarck who had been taking notes during his speech immediately replied, first reading from the stenographic report of Bebel's speech, to prove that he had quoted him correctly, and then again emphasizing repeatedly that Bebel, under circumstances, of which he himself wanted to judge, favored regicide. At one time he declared that Social Democracy had no fixed principles except that of regicide." When he got through he withdrew. "I left at the same time, and when I got out of the building, I saw that he walked along Leipziger Street, toward Leipziger Platz, then along Königgrätzer Street towards the garden behind his palace. Everybody stopped to look at him and nearly every person saluted him, he returning the greeting pleasantly. The attention paid him was very marked, and to see him walking caused much curiosity, he rarely being seen on foot. He moved slowly (very erect), somewhat heavily. I felt myself very fortunate in hearing him, the first time since my arrival in Berlin."

Eight weeks passed, and he witnessed the funeral of great Leopold Ranke, unequalled as historian, who considered the Lutheran Reformation as the central liberating force in German national life. Ranke died Sunday evening, May 23. The funeral took place three days later. Stuckenberg, anxious to attend the services, appeared before the church. He got past the police by informing a

lieutenant that he was Professor Stuckenberg from America, and the same introduction to the church council at once gained him admittance to the church building.

"Even in this imperial city a pageant like that on the 26th of May is rarely witnessed. On that day, the most eminent historian of the age, and one of the greatest of all times, was brought to his last resting place. A long procession followed the remains from the residence of the deceased to the *Sophien Kirche*, in which the civil authorities, professors of the University, members of the Academy of Sciences, numerous other men eminent in science and art, the students of the University and other institutions, united to do him honor. The coffin, buried beneath elaborate wreathes, tributes from royalty, scholarship and affection, was placed in front of the altar. On one side sat the relatives, on the other the Crown Prince, the Prince of Meiningen, and other persons of rank and distinction. Just below the coffin were the theologian Kleinert, Rector of the University, the scientist Du Bois-Reymond, the archeologist Curtius, the historian Mommsen, the philosopher Zeller, the artist Menzel, and numerous other scholars, literary men, cabinet-ministers, and high civil and military officers, many of them personal friends of Ranke and all anxious to honor his memory. Six students with drawn swords were stationed about the coffin as a guard of honor.

"The church presented a scene of magnificence which seemed a mockery of death. The brilliant uniforms of the Crown Prince and the military officers, and the gay regalia of the students; their numerous banners with just crape enough to bring out their showy colors into bolder relief; the hundreds of orders worn by men whom kings love to honor, and the diamonds flashing from the pillows beside the coffin, certainly did not suggest to an American that death and the decay of earthly glory were the supreme thoughts of the occasion. Well has it been said: 'They buried him like a king, that plain man who from his quiet study influenced the whole world. Like unto a king a grateful people and science and art brought him their homage.'



Of the vast multitude who had followed his remains, but a small proportion could enter the church."

Then he describes the funeral proper: "The solemn tones of the organ and the touching music of the choir from the *Dom* directed attention from the dazzling brilliancy to the real import of the occasion. In his discourse, Dr. Kögel, chief court preacher, referred to Ranke's eminent services to scholarship and to his nation and emphasized his unflinching devotion to the cause of Christianity. Amid the agitations, the prevalent doubts, and the attack on the Gospel, he retained a living faith in God and in Christ. . . . Ranke's strong testimony in his works as well as in his life, in favor of Christianity, is the more significant when we remember how many scholars turn their backs on religion. In that very assembly there were not a few who were pronounced infidels.

"As the audience withdrew from the church, a military band stationed at the door played a funeral march. While the choir sang, the coffin was lowered into the grave. Brief liturgical exercises and another song closed the religious services. The relatives, the Crown Prince, and each of the friends strewed earth on the coffin with their hands, according to the usual custom here, and then the vast multitude withdrew."

The personality of Ranke was one of the chief inspirations in Stuckenberg's life. He wrote various articles about him, his critical method, his views on philosophy of history, for various papers, the best of which perhaps was *Ranke and His Method* in the "Andover Review", February, 1887 (pp. 117-137). Mrs. Stuckenberg who often translated German sermons for the American press, translated the two sermons delivered at Ranke's funeral, one by his son, given at home for the family, and the one by Kögel in the church. In conclusion is given Ranke's prayer, as he had penned it in a book a few years before: "Who gavest me power to live? Thou gavest it. Who giveth knowledge and understanding? Who preserveth my soul? Thou, Almighty Only Triune One. Thou hast called me out of

nothing into being. Here at the foot of Thy throne, I prostrate myself. Amen."

At the Sunday evening meetings, Stuckenberg almost every year gave a lecture on this man, whom Dilthey has called *die Erscheinung des historischen Vermögens selber*. The influence of Ranke has been inestimable. He was physically a little fellow, always contented, never indulging in oratory. He would often speak in jerks, especially when leading up to a climax. His face then would melt into smiles as if by anticipation of the verbal explosion that followed, spreading illumination in all directions. His eyes followed the manuscript closely. He believed, as did his greatest disciple, Albert Hauck, that the unbound speech of a scholar would lead to oratorical exaggeration, and paint in too thick colors. Hence Ranke was not ranked in earlier days among entertaining historians, when he sat with fifteen students, while in another room was Droysen orating before his three hundred. But Ranke's school became the creative school. No man is purely self-taught. Neither was Ranke. He stated that the three authors who had most influenced him were Thucydides, Barthold Niebuhr, and Luther.

The name of Ranke and his University stood for scholarship and research of the creative type. Let Stuckenberg now take us into the Royal Library in which its many scholars worked. His description is contained in the *Lutheran Observer*, July, 1886. He asks us to look at its walls with their grand portraits of Descartes, Locke, Leibnitz, Newton, and others, but especially at the large painting representing Alexander von Humboldt standing in his study. Then, after having pointed out certain interesting facts, he takes us to a special table for examining manuscripts. At it sits Professor Mommsen studying a manuscript "likely for his Roman History. He is so much absorbed by his work that he never looks up nor stops for a moment. He is nearly seventy and labors with eagerness and quickness as if he realized the supreme importance of using every moment to best advantage. I have seen him in a street car

absorbed in a book, when the light was so dim as to make reading exceedingly difficult. His appearance is venerable—thin face, cleanly shaved, prominent forehead, long gray hair falling on his shoulders, the top of the head bald, his movements quick and nervous, his eye remarkable for its fire." Not far from Mommsen sits Zeller, a leading authority in Greek philosophy, over seventy. "In his white hair and thin wrinkled face, the years of toil have left their traces. Perhaps no other men living are more complete embodiment of Roman history and Greek thought than these two Berlin professors. Greece and Rome, however, have no monopoly here. Dillman, the Semitic and Ethiopian scholar, is a frequent visitor. There are also investigators of Sanskrit. And the students of modern languages abound. Kaftan, Dorner's successor, and the philosopher Paulsen, both in their prime of life and vigorous thinkers, come to delve in the world of theology and philosophy. . . . Just as Zeller leaves, a medical professor leaves and takes from the counter a score of books ready for him at his arrival. Day after day I see him with numerous references to the volume which he carefully but quickly examines and disposes of. Probably he is preparing the finishing touches on some elaborate work on medicine. Here all languages and every department of thought are made tributary to scholarship. Such patience and absorbing attention! A fine military band passes the imperial palace contiguous to the Library. The royal guard is called out to salute a passing prince or general. But all these things are nothing to those buried in the treasures of thought which constitute their wealth."

Perhaps no other American has spent more time and examined more books, periodicals, journals and newspapers in the Royal Library in Berlin than Stuckenberg.

In 1887, three people departed from the American colony to whom he was much attached. His two nieces, Mary and Martha Jarecki, who had been four years with the Stuckenbergs, left them, returning to their parents who had moved to California. The rooms in Bülow 18 now suddenly

seemed entirely too large and so changed, deprived of the merry voices of these two young ladies. Then one of the oldest members in the colony, Dr. Abbot, died. The Stuckenberg's were intimate friends of Dr. Abbot and his family. His home had been for years a center for Americans, and he was much interested in the American church and its work, being its secretary. Mrs. Abbot and Mrs. Stuckenberg were much devoted to each other. The death of Mr. Abbot meant the closing of the weekly receptions at the Abbot home.

Stuckenberg, though closely following the important events in Berlin, and interested in all of Germany's cultural life, kept up his contacts with America. He wrote for several papers, and especially obliged the editor of the *Lutheran Observer* with his answers to the many inquiries sent him, regarding the confessional issue in America. The *Homiletic Review* contained his eight to ten pages every month of news on Current Literature on Continental Europe.

In the March number, 1886, he made the very broad statement to which he remained true all his life: "The Church must be so enlarged as to become Kingdom of God. . . . The Kingdom of God includes all of humanity. . . . No interest of body and soul is foreign to it." In the November number he had two articles on *Doubt*, in which one can see the author's own experiences reflected. He considered only serious doubt, not the trifler's. He regarded Doubt as transitional, and concluded that it does not overthrow faith but destroys its certitude.

A number of Americans visited him as usual. He mentions especially John Lenker, one of the few Lutherans that came to Germany to learn. Professor Stevens of Yale, and Professor Briggs of Union Theological Seminary spent an evening at his home. Noah Porter, President of Yale, was also a caller. "As I had never met him," Stuckenberg said, "I was not prepared for such a call. His first words were that he felt he could not leave Berlin without calling. It was a great pleasure to meet him and talk philosophy.



I did not know that he ever learned my name." Professor Schaff spent a month in Berlin and he and Stuckenberg saw each other frequently. There was no time to be idle.

#### § 8. Intimate Pastoral Problems—Auxiliary Agencies

To be a pastor in an American city of moderate size, where English is understood practically by everybody; or even to be a pastor of a congregation of people that speak a foreign tongue in such a city, is a task of comparative ease compared with the problem of ministering to an extremely much shifting population of Americans in one of the capitals on the continent of Europe. The foreign speaking groups in the United States have come to make this country their permanent home. They mingle with English speaking workmen in the shops, factories, offices, trades. Their children attend the schools of the land. American newspapers both in English and in the native tongue come to the family, papers with cleaner and more cultural content than the big dailies, and minus much questionable advertising. These groups attend their own church, perhaps, where they hear their native tongue—as English Episcopalians do in the foreign capitals in Europe. Naturally they mingle more with their own people than with others—so does the Englishman, also. This mingling may appear almost to be segregation. But in this segregation there is strength. In sickness they help one another, consult as to what doctor or hospital should be chosen—especially when children are ill. They assist one another in finding employment. They are not Yankees or Englishmen, but they have their culture, the ethos of their people; and though they absorb "new" culture, they preserve much of that of their native land, which is entirely proper and wholesome; they thus bring something to the nation that "adopts" them. Today, of course, culture is largely civilization, and become international. Now and then the immigrant is made to feel he is still the immigrant. He is not a 1620'er, or his ancestors did not fight in the Revolution,

even perhaps not in the Civil War; for this he may feel the patronizing accents of really vulgar intellectuals. However, he is just as much an integral part of the new country as is the descendant of illustrious native ancestry. He feels at home and he is at home. His language may not be keyed in Bostonian flat or have the mellifluous flow of the Southerner or the march of masculine Oxford staccato, or the engaging feminine accents of Hollywood. But he is always understood. He is provided with work, and all avenues are open to him.

How different the solidarity of the small American groups in a metropolis like Berlin, fifty years ago. They were students, professional people, tourists, lacking in the labor class. Some knew the German language, some did not. It was an ever changing population in a large city not used, as the American city, to large groups of foreigners. The Americans were alone, severely alone, in the high walks of business and labor, and also in academic life. The German student had student friends by the scores and hundreds; the American student, shy and observing, had only a few. His American student friends were scattered in the capital, and opportunity for meeting them was limited. Not every American can live with the apparent ease of a reporter. The Americans in Berlin—most of them were poor—found in Stuckenberg's church and evening meetings a rallying place. Some, of course, kept aloof: for there was so much to absorb in rich Berlin. Stuckenberg was privileged to inspire and instruct youth in great numbers, also men in middle life. His home was a home of welcome to hundreds every year. Hundreds of letters and newspaper clippings from the religious and the secular press give testimony to his help. Many of these letters were from parents grateful to him and his wife—the sunshine of that cheery attractive hospitable home—for the help they had given to a struggling son or daughter when ill or discouraged or wandering. No one was ever turned away from that door of the Berlin parsonage who was in need of help or counsel. Many of the students were picked

men, fellowship and scholarship students, working for an advanced degree, less in need of pecuniary help than of fellowship with a man who knew intellectual Berlin so perfectly as Stuckenberg. But a good many of those that came to his doors were others than students; and not all of them were Americans. He had also frequently to deal with a certain class of Americans and British that on the one hand amused him, on the other made him feel sad.

The American colony had its share of unfortunates and foolish people, so that the tactfulness and resourcefulness of both Stuckenberg and his wife were tried to the utmost. Especially did Mrs. Stuckenberg have problems to meet—such as what to do with girls who became insane from overwork, girls who went astray or came abroad to have illegitimate children, girls who lost their heads to German officers and became engaged in a few days to penniless ones who wanted to get to America. Sometimes she had to resort to the Salvation Army for help in sending non-trustworthy girls home.

Experience too often revealed the great dangers to foreign sojourners who had gone abroad planning to live so as not to mingle with their countrymen, either from reasons of economy or from the false hope of making greater progress in German. The religious and recreative side in the lives of such people was thus neglected. Loneliness too often led to depression, melancholy, illness. It was a temptation for such to enter upon forbidden paths. Sometimes it led to tragic results, even to self-destruction. Despite all efforts of the American church and its auxiliaries to learn who and where the lonely were, the American colony was startled every winter by one or more tragedies among its ambitious compatriots. Most of the cases of serious error and wandering that Stuckenberg and his wife got knowledge of, were reported to them by the wrongdoers themselves, who in their distress and fear sought counsel and assistance of the pastor. These *Schmerzenkinder* (children of sorrow), foreign and lonely, almost despairing of self, received the greatest outlay of the pastor's time

and care. But there were worse cases—fortunately they were rare—cases of insanity or destruction.

Three music pupils—girls—took their lives. They were from the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. A young man from Boston did the same thing. There were also attempts at suicide. Then, there were cases of natural death. The parents and relatives of the unfortunate ones naturally turned to the pastor of the American church as the one who, in their opinion, was better informed and could impart more reliable information than their other countrymen in Berlin. If he knew their address, he wrote to them at once what would elicit a reply. The replies received were pathetic, showing the psychologic effect of the tragedy upon parents or other members of the family. One of the unfortunates referred to, left her *Pension* on a Wednesday morning, and was not heard of until Saturday morning, when Stuckenberg with two ladies went to Stralau to identify her body. It had been found in the river near by the church. *Verzweiflung* (Despair) was the only word in her diary from March 1 to March 9. She had left the house under great depression.

Not seldom Stuckenberg lent money to such as came to him with stories of pecuniary difficulties. In some instances he got it back. Sometimes grateful recognition in the form of a letter from a parent, because of pecuniary aid or a loan extended to a son or a daughter, would spread sunshine upon such dealings. These were, generally speaking, matters-of-fact instances. But there were others which, when related to Dr. Talmadge of New York, made him exclaim: "Surely that is the church of the greatest possible romance."

The Wild West Show came to Berlin and produced a profound impression. When "Buffalo Bill" arrived to perform for several weeks, the German Y. M. C. A., which had been organized in 1883, was solicitous that religious services should be held among the large body of men and women that travelled with the show. The Y. M. C. A. accordingly appealed to Stuckenberg to conduct the Sunday



morning services on the show grounds before preaching in the American church. He gladly responded, and it was a royal experience to preach to the professional itinerants in the company of "Bill", who responded to the offer of religious services among his people with proper hospitality, though he himself never attended. The audiences were good. All the women and the Indians were regular in attendance and devout in their manner. A few of the cowboys came within hearing, out in front of their tents, occupied with furnishing up their accouterments, meanwhile giving evidence of attention to the voice that had often carried the Gospel message among thousands of soldiers in the open air situation. His sermon was in English, interpreted by a Mexican to the Indians, who listened gravely and manifested appreciation. These Indians were the only group that had brought along from home their hymn books; and it gave them a pleasure to be asked to sing American favorite hymns in their own language. He reached some of the show people by a more direct way than preaching. He visited, for example, the *Tigermensch* (tiger-man) dying in the hospital, also David Carver. Buffalo Bill gave Stuckenberg an unexpected treat once, by asking him to step into a chariot. Complying, the pastor at the crack of "Bill's" whip was carried off by the swift steeds into the circus ring, where the preacher's coat tails assumed a horizontal position from the chariot, to which he, all laughter, found himself clinging in the whirling circular chase.

But it was not the advent of this show that first brought Stuckenberg face to face with those who amused people "professionally." Berlin was one of the centers for visiting vaudeville performers. Clowns were in abundance. As a rule they were foreigners, Germans not caring much for that dubious profession. They spoke English only and had been reared under the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes. It would happen that they would be stranded in Berlin with a sick wife, or stricken with sickness themselves. Most of the time they were out of money. It was a privilege to be sought by these people; but it was pitiful to notice how

unacquainted they were with the ways of a minister. They would appear at his door in gala attire, silk hats, kid gloves, when circumstances bespeaking financial straits were otherwise very evident. Pathetic in the extreme was their fear lest they might not receive attention; and they were anxious that the pastor should accept tickets for their performances as the best returns they could make for favors shown them. They were helpless in the use of the language. The pastor would be called upon to find nurses and physicians for their families and occasionally to serve as an interpreter.

Naturally, professional dead beats and tramps also made their appearance at Stuckenberg's home. They made a plea for a "lend a hand," a "favor," a "little service," generally in the form of money. With the plea, went the promise to reimburse the lender in due time. It was difficult for Stuckenberg to turn away these people empty-handed. He would give them something, but afterward remark to his wife: "But I am afraid he is a humbug." And of course the surmise proved to be correct. Never was any money, thus claimed, returned. Sometimes even Germans of culture, respectable in dress, also with *Cylinder* (silk hat) and *Glacéhandschue* (kid gloves), would come to the pastor on errands of begging, supposing that he would understand that they could not work for a living or do anything that was not *standesgemäß* (suitable to one's station). To express the depth of their poverty, they would say they had not even enough to get their boots blackened. And they were indignantly astonished to be confronted with Stuckenberg's American view of self-help to meet their situation.

He was also visited by degenerate sons of rich Americans—degenerate according to the confession of the youths themselves as well as of their distracted mothers; they found him to be a man of heart, who would listen to their story in a way that enabled them to make a clean breast of their condition. But often he felt helpless before their problems—for the men were problems themselves—cursed by reason of luxury, without habits of industry, and with-

out any noble purpose in life. Sometimes the mothers of rich boys would consult Stuckenberg about what school or what tutor they should select for their sons. And here, too, he faced perplexity. Mothers would complain that their sons had been turned out of every American school which they had been sent to. They would make the plea, "Do help me to save him here in Berlin." To Stuckenberg's question, "What is the trouble with your boy?" they would reply: "He knows he won't have to work, and we all have indulged him." Probably few pastors have had opportunity to minister to so many callings and to listen to so many different kinds of pleas and propositions as had the pastor of the Berlin church.

In course of time, organizations were established that relieved him of some of his cares. During the eighties and early nineties—we anticipate three years here—professional men as well as students would appeal to Stuckenberg as to *the* source of all manner of information, relative to their studies, what to choose, what professors to hear. In cases of illness or need of medical advice he was asked what physician he would recommend. As a rule, he directed such to Professor Willoughby Miller, the noted American bacteriologist, in the University. Especially one organization was the outgrowth of this repeated consultation, the Anglo-American Medical Association which aimed at assisting medical men immediately on their arrival in securing the right kind of work for their purpose and the most advantageous conditions available. The president of this society has stated that the immediate cause of the organization was the discovery of a hungry, homesick physician, ill in a German restaurant, and so ignorant of the language that he could not even ask for a glass of milk.

There were certain people who needed special spiritual care: those who would not forgive themselves for taking a false step in life. Where such occurrences became known, mostly no one ever became aware of it except the pastor and his wife. Such instances kept the church alive to the emphasis of the necessity of also keeping close watch of



the American youth abroad, lest they, in their ambition, exploit their powers of endurance beyond their strength. Partly to meet this need, the evening meetings at the pastor's home had been started in 1885; they were an associational factor of great help. Stuckenberg would mention various needs before the congregation. He knew them so well from his daily experiences. Without mentioning names he would speak of people stranded in Berlin without money, or someone that had come with a sick member of the family to find medical help. Stuckenberg was the person they first heard of. He had to guide them to the proper physician, be the interpreter, and sometimes help with money, or intervene for credit or charity. And during operations, he would sometimes suffer as much as those who stood nearest in sympathy. Most pathetic was the case of an English woman, in whom the Salvation Army was much interested. Unmarried, she became the mother of a child; she wrote to Mrs. Stuckenberg about the preparations for its birth: "My time is drawing near." And eighteen years later the girl child thus born, and now well trained in a Catholic institution and supervised by a Catholic sister, writes a pathetic letter inquiring about the identity of her mother. Was she cultured, etc.?

There were former soldiers in Berlin from the Civil War who needed care; widows, one of whom was left with four children. Here the experiences of the Abbot family and Mrs. George Palmer Davies were of great help. They knew the German way of helping the poor without pauperizing them, and maintained individual friendships with the families whom they helped, for long periods of years.

In 1891 the number of physicians and patients in Berlin was unusually great due to the discovery made by Professor Robert Koch. Stuckenberg wrote: "One must be in Berlin to get an idea of the excitement caused by the discovery of Professor Robert Koch. The whole science of medicine seems to have been lifted on a higher plane. New inspiration has been given to research and experiment, particularly in the department of bacteriology. Many hun-



dreds of physicians from all countries have hastened to Berlin to study Koch's methods of treating consumptives. The sick have come in such numbers that it is difficult to find accommodations and treatment for them." "Strong hopes are entertained that for diphtheria, and other diseases now deemed almost incurable, remedies will yet be found." Robert Koch is the founder of modern bacteriology and of the scientific research in infectious diseases, and the hopes attached to his discoveries were on the whole not strung too high.

Events like these increased the load of the pastor. His correspondence, always large, grew immensely. And then the usual type of letters not decreasing! The letters of want were many. People wrote to be recommended for positions in America. America desired professors, teachers for conservatories, information about books and libraries. Personal introductions were asked for. Some letters solicited articles for the press. Some offered to expose fraud; some asked for help in tracing humbugs. Letters came from Germans to procure positions for them in America as teachers, governesses, or to get help in procuring pupils in German. Some had relatives in America, in distress, or who had disappeared; wives wrote whose husbands had ceased to correspond, and mothers whose sons had grown remiss. There were cases when all other interests of Stuckenberg's life were set aside that he might devote himself to one single case of need, where his personal supervision and sense of responsibility had become to him the one absorbing duty of the moment. He did not neglect the commissions laid upon him.

Jewish people, Armenians and clergymen wrote in behalf of heirs to estates, real and imaginary. There were weddings to take care of. And the funerals entailed much work. Unexpected disasters, thousands of miles away, would also be eruptive across the seas. The Johnstown disaster much affected the American community in Berlin. Then there was the problem of forwarding mail, and arranging trips for travelers. There were prisoners to be

visited. All this in an ever shifting population. Only a few students remained more than a year in the University when they went to another or returned home. Arthur D. Corey studied longer at the University than any other American student attending it in those days. His field of study was Greek literature and art, but he prosecuted his work with joy. Not that alone, he found time for much religious work. His biography reveals that he, besides rendering services to the American church and being an active member in the Y. M. C. A., helped the German Baptists. A young Englishman was the instrument of the conversion of the German lady who had received him as a boarder. A young Scotchman brought a Japanee student to Christ. This Japanese student became one of the most interesting supporters of the American church. It must be said to the credit of American youth that there were many among them who were very active in advocating the cause of the Kingdom of God, through casual conversation, through their deeds. The daily papers commented upon the short life of the "American Bar" established *Unter den Linden*. It was soon obliged to close for want of customers. A young American from Cleveland was signally blessed by the quiet influence of his inobtrusive cheerful loyalty in all relations assumed by him; one of the music students, as he bade Stuckenberg goodby recounted, as one of his greatest blessings derived from his stay in Berlin, the acquaintance of this young man.

When Stuckenberg in 1880 became the acting pastor of the church—his election to pastor several years later did not change his work; he was doing the same kind of work all the time, though the load naturally increased from year to year—the pastoral obligation consisted merely in preaching a sermon every Sunday. The church in the meantime organized auxiliary departments or societies to aid the labor of the pastor. He did not take the initiative except in the Bible Class which he taught, and the Sunday evening meetings. These were entirely his own projects. But he so stimulated the energies of the people that a number

of activities were started and solidified through organizations. They indicate the vitality in the parish, especially since they were not imitations.

"The German Y. M. C. A." was organized, we have noted, in 1883. Stuckenberg became a member of its staff of directors, *Beirath*. He aided it through counsel and lectures. He had been ardent in Y. M. C. A. work wherever he had been. Though this organization was not directly a church organization, its importance for the church was very great. The American church was strongly represented in the Y. M. C. A., whose General Secretary was Christian Philbus, a member of the American church in Berlin. Also two other members of this church were directors: Dr. Miller and Col. Siebert. A section of German University students met for two years in the Y. M. C. A. quarters studying the social problem under Stuckenberg.

The "Young Men's League" of the church was organized in 1889. It had its meetings in the Y. M. C. A. building, and the pastor was its honorary president. The "International Total Abstinence Society" of Berlin was organized in January, 1888, said to be the first total abstinence society organized in Germany. Members were obliged to abstain from alcoholic liquors during their membership in the society. The pledge thus was not binding for life. Stuckenberg was active in the formation of this society. Through invitation of Herr Schrader and Dr. Stöcker, who were members of the *Reichstag*, Stuckenberg came in touch with other Christian representatives of the Government. One evening he discussed with three of the members the subject of temperance. They admitted the increase of drunkenness, but seemed at a loss as to what to do to lessen the evils of intemperance.

The "Ladies' Union" was organized in 1888, to aid the church "spiritually, socially, and financially." It held meetings once a month, gave the first impulse toward erecting a church building, and helped in gathering money for this project. It furnished refreshments at public gatherings, such as the Sunday evening meetings, and also managed the



Annual Home Thanksgiving banquets. Its president was Mrs. Stuckenberg, its founder. In 1891 it numbered 280 members, including those in America.

The "King's Daughters", organized in 1888, appealed most urgently to the girls of America to gather money for the church in Berlin. It worked much like the "Young Men's League," which pursued this object among the men in America. Groups of ten would organize. Under the auspices of the King's Daughters eminent musical artists gave concerts to help to finance the building project. But this society was also very influential in developing knowledge in Scriptures.

Mary B. Willard's School, as has been stated, began October, 1886. Besides the daily work in class, lectures were held weekly by various speakers on religious subjects. This school exerted a noble influence.

All these agencies served to strengthen the work of the church, making use of recognized gifts, and thus sharing some of the work of the pastor in its various ramifications.

Owing to the character of the work described in this section containing retrospective as well as perspective elements, it has taken us beyond 1886 and anticipated events that more properly pertain to the treatment beyond that year, particularly organizations and the canvass for the church building. This same explanation will also cover the next section, after which the chronological order of events will be resumed.

§ 9. Sunday Evening Meetings—Musical Artistry—Joachim—The Appearance of Mark Twain

No feature of Stuckenberg's ministration in Berlin found heartier appreciation than the Sunday evening meetings held regularly in his own apartment on Bülow Street 18. These meetings were started in 1885, and antedate the organization of the church by two years. As soon as he moved to Bülow Street, he announced to his wife his desire to extend to all homeless young people of the colony a regular Sunday evening invitation. At first the proposition caused



some dismay on the part of Mrs. Stuckenberg and of her cousins, who lived in her home.

The objections were several. It was objected that as Bülow Street was at so great a distance from the remainder of the English-speaking people, the guests would not be able to reach there by the proper time. At this period Bülow Street was almost upon the outskirts of the city in this direction, and only to be reached by a single line of horse-cars. Besides, as eight o'clock in the evening was the regular supper hour in Berlin, this alone would have to preclude the arrangement. To this Stuckenberg proposed that the invitation should include supper. When now it was objected that young Americans were not lacking in social opportunities, he replied: "That's just it. I want especially the class to whom that does not apply. Be sure to invite every poor English-speaking student in Berlin." When again it was objected that there might then be too little room, he proposed the regular removal of all bulky pieces of furniture to make room for the requisite number of small chairs. Now the objection shifted that it would be difficult to keep such a meeting within the bounds desirable for a Sunday gathering; and he patiently explained that he had much to say to the people, and desired this as his opportunity. He gained his way. Mrs. Stuckenberg gave her hearty approval to the novel idea.

During the first winter, 1885-86, the meetings rarely attracted more than forty guests. But during the subsequent years they grew rapidly, taxing the limit of the available space of the three adjoining rooms and the long corridor. After it seemed necessary to include more than 180 in the invitations, the gathering was obliged to retire to the music hall of Professor Klindworth, which later also became crowded. This hall was attractive, but lacked the atmosphere of a home. When therefore the years of financial panic in the United States limited the number of sojourners from abroad, the pastor's house again brought the meetings back for the years 1892-93 and 1893-94. The meetings were held weekly, on Sunday night, through a period

of about six months every year, beginning at the close of October. This corresponded somewhat to the winter term in the University.

The domestic preparations for this service were after the following order: A small group of young ladies and gentlemen would arrive in the afternoon to prepare the sandwiches. These young people would remain for supper and through the evening. Later, young men would arrive to remove the large pieces of furniture from the two parlors and the bed room suite for the required room to another part of the house, and afterwards arrange the chairs that were kept stacked for the purpose. After the meeting, and after the departure of the guests, the same young men remained to restore the house to its accustomed order.

It was necessary that the meetings should not be announced from the church, in order that room might be preserved for those for whom they were specially intended: for the young people not attended by relatives or not living in American homes. Of course, so long as there was room, others were equally welcome. But, as the addresses were of a character to attract many others, it was necessary to draw a limit. Stuckenberg stated at the outset of these meetings: "In particular shall I feel free to discuss all intellectual subjects which affect religious thought."

The hour for these meetings was most opportune. Berlin had no late Sunday evening services; the churches were closed. But all classes of theatres, dancing halls, and drinking places were wide open. Loneliness is apt to creep over young people, and homesickness gets the most favorable opportunity at such hours, when they are away from home and friends, in a foreign land. The eight o'clock Sunday meeting was therefore the especial time for hospitality.

The subjects of Stuckenberg's addresses were biographical, philosophical, theological, educational, and social. He gave much attention to socialism as affecting the Church. Just about every winter he delivered a lecture on each of his favorite theological teachers: Tholuck, Müller, Dorner,

Beck, and one on his favorite historian Ranke. He discussed Doubt; Present Day Tendencies in German Thought; Freedom; Personality; Scenes from the Reformation; Religion and Reason; Morality; Principal Factors in Moulding Life; How the State Church Works; Elements of Culture Which Affect the State Church; Religious Education in German Schools; Aesthetics; Understanding the Age in Which We Live; The Relation of Intellectual Development to Religion; The Dominant Popular Against the Eternal Ideal.

Some of the chapters in books of his, like *The Age and the Church; Tendencies of German Thought*, were first delivered as lectures. On his birthday, in 1889, he was requested to give some of his own principles. He stated them: Hard work; Never depend upon what others can do for you; Independence; Reality instead of show; Thought instead of mere style; Power instead of its semblance; Amid negations, to seize what is positive; Non multa but multum—now, multa for the sake of multum. Every lecture would usher before the minds of the hearers a number of eminent men in various walks of life. The biographical touch was never wanting; likewise, the personal appeal, without becoming hortatory. Instruction and example went hand in hand.

Frequently he had speakers from the outside: Dawson, Andrew Martin Fairbairn, Hodgson Pratt, who spoke several times, Dr. Stöcker, Count Bernstorff. The audiences were inspiring. Among the guests were Andrew D. White, Marcard, Imelmann, the daughter of Schleiermacher, Frau von Scheffel, the Bunsens, the Abbots. Most of those present were graduate students—American, English, Japanese, German, and many students of music.

A Correspondent (C. M. A.) of the *New York Observer*, in 1890, describes the German church service, with its liturgy and chorals, and, then, takes the reader along to the American Chapel, where American hymns are sung, finally also describes the Evening meeting.

"A warm welcome from Dr. Stuckenberg and his wife makes us feel at once at home, and we mingle with many pleasant Americans we find there, and exchange greetings with strangers as though they were old friends. But soon a hush falls on the rooms, every one is seated, and as the stillness grows into silence, Dr. Stuckenberg takes his place in the doorway between the two rooms and begins a delightful discourse that lasts for less than an hour and is always too short to please his audience. You will say, of what does he talk? The answer is, of everything that can help to influence his young hearers to high and noble purposes, to a life full of love to God and man. The talk is not always on religion, but is always helpful and educating." One evening Stuckenberg gave "a most interesting account of Neander, the great church historian. After the talk, always closed with prayer and singing, comes the hour of social intercourse with the pastor, his wife, and others, varied by sacred music, and a delectable little 'Abendbrot' of tea, cakes, and sandwiches."

These evening meetings are a constant topic for mention in the numerous letters to the Stuckenbergs from American friends. They bear strong testimony to the fact that sociability of the right kind is a schoolmaster to Christ, a schoolmaster of the persuasive type.

Besides these meetings, there were others which in a different way helped the church: the various auxiliary organizations already mentioned. Here mention shall be made of only one: The Ladies' Union. A most vivid and delightful description of an American Home gathering sponsored by the Ladies' Union on Thanksgiving, 1887, is given by Professor C. C. Bragdon, of Auburndale, Mass., in a Massachusetts (unidentified) paper of November 30, 1887. He writes he was in "choice company. Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg—you all know him from his scholarly writings for our press—who lay the colony under obligations perpetual by being its pastor and pastor's wife, whose hearty greetings made one feel at home the moment he crossed the threshold." Mrs. Willard's School, he relates,



consists mainly of "girls"—college graduates from Pennsylvania, California, Connecticut, Illinois, and Vermont. He mentions the teachers, Frau Cauer, Frl. Steiniger, Frl. Ribbach. He also describes a "Home Thanksgiving Celebration", mentioning some of the guests, such as Mrs. Norton and daughter of Boston; J. S. Cobb, C. Mead, Mrs. Fessenden, president of the Ladies' Union.

He mentions the "abundance of food," the "just like home" feeling, which even the "plenty" sugar helps to foster. "For," he tells his readers, "the American averages forty-six pounds of sugar yearly, the Englishman twenty-four, and the German seven." After the feast "Dr. Stuckenberg toasted the President of the United States and the Emperor, and Count Bernstorff replied to the Emperor." He describes the singing and playing of American melodies, and reflects on the fact that the Germans know the words of their hymn, the English usually do, but the Americans usually do not. Mr. Bragdon liked this American Thanksgiving. "Let it never fail of repetition, and let every American come."

The music students contributed much to make life among the Americans in Berlin cheerful. Not a few of them assisted at Sunday morning services and at the Sunday evening meetings. None of the organ players failed the church when needed. The list of American organists was a long one: John Hermann Loud, Walter Howe Jones, Hamlin Hunt, Alfred Pennington, T. Louis, F. J. Benedict, Charles Scovel, F. W. Riesberg, Ethelhart Nevins, Benjamin Guckenberger, Charles E. Platt, George McArthur, Henry Le-favour and others.

The leader of the *Dom* (Cathedral) choir would occasionally attend the American church. He regarded the music heard there with interest. The organist of the American church of that period became a protege of this professor. And he—it was Alfred Pennington—had the pleasure of playing at one of the concerts given in the *Dom, auf kaiserlichem Befehl* (by order of the Emperor). Not to be overlooked are violinists like Maude Powell, Caroline Morgan, Currie Duke.

Among the pianists, mention can be made of Jessie Pinney, George Magrath, Stella Hadden.

Among the glorious voices heard in the American church were Ross Stevenson, Oscar Lienan, Margaret Garry, Mrs. Sawyer, Katherine Willard, Elisabeth Pierce, F. V. French, Wm. Manns, Anabel Boise, Catherine Ranson, Mrs. Geo. A. Coe, A. H. Van Sweyk, Minnie Fish, Cora Bainsbridge, Seth Clark, Thomas L. Cushman.

Probably there are few churches anywhere that have ministered to so many gifted American musicians and singers as the American church. And few other churches in those days had such an opportunity to hear good church music.

These students rendered unpaid service to the church, and some of them gave concerts for raising funds for it. They generally studied with Oscar Reiff, most competent piano teacher; Xaver Scharwenka and the brother Philip, Anton Rubinstein, Moszkowski, Theodore Kullak and his son, Henry Barth, Joseph Joachim, Carl Klindworth, F. Arens, Deppe, Bilse, some of these also taught in the United States.

Not only students, but famous teachers of music gave concerts in behalf of the American church. Such artists were Oscar Reiff, Xaver Scharwenka, Jedlick, Carl Klindworth; each gave a concert. Three of them gave it in the *Sing Akademie*.

In the great new Church Belle Alliance Platz, the professors Joachim and Barth played the entire program. It was afterward learned that Barth had played at heavy expense to himself, as he had refrained from giving any lessons on the day of the concert. Possibly the other artists had made their contribution to the American church cause at a similar cost to themselves.

When Joachim was approached in behalf of the concert, something of the religious nature of this great artist came to light. He consented by saying, "But what do you wish me to play?" The petitioner was not prepared to suggest to Joachim a program.

"You want sacred music, I suppose?" He must have been shocked to hear the following American reply: "That may not be necessary, Professor." He corrected in his soft earnest voice: "Yes, I think so. You expect the concert to be held in a church. It would be out of all harmony with my feelings to play other than sacred music in a church."

Less critical was Mark Twain, who gave a lecture, the proceeds of which were to go to the church. He, too, registered an objection. At the time when he was asked to render this service for the "King's Daughters," an auxiliary organization within the church, he replied in his whimsical way: "Yes, I will be glad to speak for the American church. But I would prefer to do it in the name of the President's Daughters rather than the King's Daughters. . . . I don't believe I approve of our American girls taking that name." In a few words his wife, who was present, explained this situation. His face grew serious. "Oh! That's quite another thing," he remarked. The lecture took place before a large audience, including many Germans. It was one of his inimitable ones, endearing him to the Berliners, and aiding the church organization financially.

It was in 1891 that Samuel L. Clemens delivered his lecture for the church building fund. He and his family were then staying in Germany for a considerable length of time. He frequently attended the services in the American church, hearing Stuckenberg. He also spent some time at the pastorage of Dr. Ortmann, the evangelical pastor at Ilsenburg, to whom Stuckenberg would frequently direct American tourists. This lecture more properly forms a part of the narrative covering the second period of Stuckenberg's ministry in Berlin, treated in the next chapter, though we have made mention of it here.

References elsewhere in this book to the Sunday evening meetings make mention of many others who addressed it. The element of music and song gave to the entire program a finished setting, in the center of which was always the well pondered and well delivered address of the evening.

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## CHAPTER XVII

### In Berlin: Second Period (1887-1894)

- § 1. Church Canvass of Mrs. Stuckenberg—Aid of Mrs. Grover Cleveland—Stuckenberg Visits America—Desired at Wittenberg, at Tokio—The Homiletic Review, 1887-88

THE YEAR of 1887 enlarged the field of Stuckenberg's church work in Berlin. He was elected regular pastor. Mrs. Stuckenberg was delegated to go to America to interest people in the building of a church, and to canvass for funds. His income from the "Homiletic Review" arose to \$750 a year, and after October, 1888, to \$1,000. The American Chapel was organized into the American Church in Berlin; and a new constitution, written by Stuckenberg, was adopted by the congregation. Its doctrinal basis was declared to be the Sacred Scriptures; more specifically the doctrines of Scripture embodied in the Apostles' Creed. Stuckenberg's pastoral position from 1880 to 1886 was that of "acting pastor." It was now made formal. He became pastor. His work remained the same, though it had been growing from year to year. Now it got official recognition, and church and pastor could make legal claims upon each other. The Committee of the Church at its organization consisted of Stuckenberg as Chairman and "acting pastor"; Theodore S. Fay; his son-in-law Dr. C. H. Abbot; Dr. Abbot's son-in-law Dr. W. D. Miller; Hon. H. Kreismann, General Consul in Berlin; Professor C. M. Mead; James Watt, Agent of British and Foreign Bible Society; W. M. Griscom; Professor J. T. Anderson; Professor J. S. Simon-ton; Rev. G. Frei. Professor Mead had had much to do with initiating the early work of organization.



On April 4, 1888, Mrs. Stuckenberg left on her mission for America, and worked for seven months mainly in New York, Pennsylvania and the New England states. Stuckenberg was also persuaded to go to America. He left July 16, and returned in the early part of October.

Before they left they had both witnessed the solemn funeral of Emperor William I, which occurred March 16. Stuckenberg had often seen the imposing figure, who with Bismarck and Moltke had created the new Germany. He did not regard Emperor William I as a genius, like Frederick the Great, or Napoleon; but he found him a more devoutly religious nature, more of a father to his people, and as one who sought more fully the interests of humanity. He praised him especially for choosing and retaining wise counsellors.

Mrs. Stuckenberg's work in America for the American Church in Berlin was quite an undertaking. In New York she was met by Mrs. Mary B. Willard. Mrs. Willard, a good friend of Mrs. Grover Cleveland, got the latter interested in the work of the canvass. Mrs. Cleveland had been in Berlin, knew Mrs. Stuckenberg personally, and was acquainted with the nature of the work of the American Church there. She became treasurer for the funds that were solicited, exchanged several letters with Mrs. Stuckenberg whom she received at the White House. The lending of her name to the cause was of much significance, and she was deeply interested in it. There were one or two American capitalists in Berlin that later caused to be published in the papers the story that Mrs. Cleveland had withdrawn from the canvass. Mrs. Cleveland promptly branded the story as untrue.

The work of canvassing was slow. Sometimes unexpected, discouraging yet humorous situations were faced. Mrs. Stuckenberg, for instance, called on John D. Rockefeller. He took her riding one Sunday afternoon, talked about his philanthropy, but said he was not ready to give any money then. He even wrote her a letter about the matter. He later sent to the Stuckenbergs an announce-

ment about the wedding of his daughter to Rev. Strong. He was very sociable. From one statement made by him, people were led to believe that he would finance the building of the church entirely by himself. Somehow the Stuckenbergs were not ready to entertain such a proposition, preferring individual sums and of less capitalistic coloring. However, Rockefeller did give to the Church \$10,000, before the corner stone was laid, but after the resignation of Stuckenberg. He said he could have given it all to Mrs. Stuckenberg, because she was the one who had aroused his interest in the project. He presented the Stuckenbergs with a personal gift of \$250, insisting that this was not for the church, but for them.

Mrs. Stuckenberg interviewed hundreds of people in the interest of the canvass. She was at home in any society, tall and gracious, with expressive features, of charm in conversation, ever polite, tactful, unobtrusive, putting anyone she spoke with at their ease and yet making him an attentive listener. Mrs. Mary Willard wrote about her in the *Union Signal*, April 29, 1886, as a "very accomplished woman." She had the courage, backed up by her firm religious conviction, to plead the interest of the American Church before numerous church and parlor gatherings, to interview many fine, but also some cranky ministers, receiving wholehearted, half-hearted coöperation, and sometimes rude rebuffs. She overlooked the latter disheartening instances, and was happy at the many evidences of genuine understanding, sympathy, and ready help. She called on a number of college presidents in the East, from President Charles Eliot of Harvard to President Francis Paton of Princeton. Both were very kind, though Dr. Eliot in a humorous vein said that church interest was not the strong side of Harvard. College presidents would generally canvass their faculties for \$1,000 for a pew in the new church. But the women were the real workers.

Boston did a good work, with Joseph Cook as a spur. But Phillips Brooks was cold. He talked about the "simplicity of the services" in the chapel when he was in Berlin,

and hoped that it could be retained. The why of this statement nobody could understand. He gave personally, but did not put the project before his church. There was some talk about the Methodists coming to Berlin to build a large church; the Episcopalians also entertained plans of this kind for some time. This made it all the more imperative for the American Church to maintain herself and build. Mr. Pendleton, United States Ambassador, gave Mrs. Stuckenberg a letter of recommendation from Berlin, in which the spirit moved him to tell, needlessly, that he and his family were worshiping in the English Episcopalian Church in Berlin. In fact, the American Church did not receive much encouragement from those at the Embassy, who felt the church was too plain for them; an embassy needed something "worthy" of the "government", classic, ritualistic and ecclesiastic.

To mention all the names of those who were chairmen and members of committees, organized in behalf of the Church project in Berlin, or to tell about all the meetings, speakers, donators, and cheering letters received, is out of question here. A very fine pamphlet of 14 pages was published by the "Boston Canvassing Committee." Its title was *American Christian Interest in Berlin*. Seven pages were given to the statement of the case itself. Thereupon letters followed endorsing the work of the church: one jointly signed by a number of members of the church committee in Berlin, then individual letters from Richard Storrs, Philip Schaff, Frances E. Willard, Josiah Strong, Borden P. Bowne, Alexander McKenzie, Mrs. Grover Cleveland. They were most cordial in their praise and endorsement of the work of the church and of the plan to give it a home of its own. Mrs. Cleveland's letter was as follows:

"Oak View, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Mrs. Stuckenberg:—I am greatly interested in your efforts in behalf of a National American Union Church to be established in Berlin and other foreign cities.

"My own experience as well as that of others have taught me that the need for such a church is very great. I trust you may meet with

success in soliciting interest and funds from the people in this country for this cause in which every American should be anxious to help.

"Since it has become known that I was designated to receive money for the object, I have been receiving remittances which, together with whatever may be added, and my own contribution, I shall be glad to forward to you when you wish." "Sincerely,

"FRANCES F. CLEVELAND."

Dr. W. I. Gage and Geo. M. Stone, in Hartford, Conn., got out a printed circular, asking people of their city to contribute \$1,000 for a Hartford pew. The plan was to provide for 100 pews, with an inscription on each pew testifying the name of the person, city or institution giving it. The letter also speaks in personal terms of Dr. Stuckenberg's sacrifice at being at his post. It was a sacrifice, said Gage, of \$1,000 each year. In fact, it was far more.

There was one step proposed by Mrs. Cleveland which, however, was not taken, but which would have been very effective in the canvass. She wrote to Mrs. Stuckenberg that it might be a good plan to turn to the matter of finding out how many governors have wives and write to them, asking each to be one of the Committee—chairman from that state; then select a senator's wife from each state and ask her to name another lady or two, to get as general a representation as possible in each state, from the north, the south, east, and west, and middle portion of each. Mrs. Cleveland added that naturally the arrangement of the details of a plan like this would be quite out of her power, and she was too busy to give more than her husband's name to it.

This was written in the disquiet of the approaching presidential campaign, and shows her deep interest in the American Church, as is indicated also by so many of her other actions.

This proposition was overlooked. Mrs. Stuckenberg was then receiving news from Berlin of uneasiness concerning her husband's health. She cabled to others who were in the best situation to know the facts. The answer she received made her feel that it was imperative to abandon everything



and return to Berlin. Stuckenberg had returned to Europe from his brief visit to the United States. He had made the visit because of illness, a change in the climate being suggested as remedial. He had helped the canvass somewhat, though this was not the object of his mission. His church had originally wanted him to do the canvassing, a work that really did not appeal to him. It was the knowledge of this that prompted Mrs. Stuckenberg to go to America to solicit funds; she pleaded to do it, at least wanting to try it.

It was late in November when Mrs. Stuckenberg got back to Germany, when all was in full swing with the winter's work. In the burden of it, this letter of Mrs. Cleveland, suggesting the state plan was overlooked. "This letter happened to escape my attention. How it would have helped loyal friends among the different organizations formed there who struggled long to develop and finish the tasks they had so nobly taken in hand. Among other shortcomings in my work, this seems most to be regretted."

Mrs. Stuckenberg as a result of her hard work and patient efforts could later turn over more than \$40,000 to the treasurer of the Church. It had taken several years to collect this sum. For to get a promise of \$1,000 for a church pew, and to get the money were two different things. The final sum, over \$100,000, which was completed after Stuckenberg, six years later, left Berlin, was obtained by virtue of her mission and personal contacts in 1888. It was Stuckenberg's constant care that the church should meet its own current expenses, so that the building fund might grow unhindered. During these seven months of her absence from Berlin, and the time he joined her in the United States and aided her in the work, the current expenses fell behind by a large sum; but, even then, he guarded the building fund and suffered the deficit himself. Seven years later it was made up after his resignation. Never was any part of it used for any other object than paying for the preservation and increase of the fund itself; not even for expenses in travel or otherwise, in raising the fund. That was the understanding in all his appeals for this specific object.

Stuckenberg's short sojourn in the United States in 1888 brought him to cities like Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield and other cities in Ohio; to Erie, Pa.; to Jersey City, where he lectured before the theological faculty at Princeton and where a reception was given for him. He brought back a considerable sum for the church, also contributing his month's salary to it.

President S. A. Ort was desirous of having him as teacher at Wittenberg College. Already in April, 1888, Ort had asked for his coöperation in writing articles for a theological magazine which he intended to publish, and had breathed the secret, "We have this year 250 students enrolled. The drawbacks, however, are many. The college has always lacked the enterprising aggressive spirit. The college has always been loaded down with men who should have been out on some cross roads and remained there all their lifetime. We are now fighting for a theological Seminary building. . . ."

President Ort inquired of Stuckenberg in a letter of August 7, if he would accept a position in Sacred Philology at Wittenberg. Dr. J. W. Richard, the incumbent, was about to go to Gettysburg. "I would be delighted to have you with us. . . . You can do a grand work for the Church and the cause of Christ at Wittenberg . . . if there is any hope to get your services, you are the only one who can give the information. . . . The chair is vacant for you, if you will accept it. If in no case you can come, there is no need of electing you." This letter was seconded by Professor C. L. Ehrenfeld:

"I am confident that you will be heartily elected if it be felt that you will hold yourself open to favorable consideration of it. I am not your conscience keeper, but I will make free to say that I believe it to be your duty. You have had the advantages of your sojourn at Berlin; you are now at the summit of your intellectual vigor and not yet so old as to be on the decline, you can bring fame to the institution, and will find a great door open. . . . I think there are just now great possibilities opening before you—possibili-

ties in the way of making this the great controlling school of the General Synod. . . . We would get the choice students from the east and the west."

Strong letters urging him to accept the professorship were also written to him by J. F. Schaffer, member of the Board, and W. G. Hoskinson. There was a general movement started towards Stuckenberg, but the Berlin pastor seemed not to be available. When the Board met, it elected Luther Gotwald and Heindel. But the notion of having Stuckenberg in some way connected with the college was hailed with enthusiasm, so the Board unanimously elected him Lecturer on "Theology and Philosophical Tendencies in Germany." The lecture would be delivered once every two or three years. His expenses from Germany would be paid through this arrangement.

Two other letters came to Stuckenberg in 1888 inquiring whether he would be available. One was from F. W. Conrad, who urged him to consider a chair at Gettysburg Seminary. The other from the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Synod through whose secretary, Dr. Scholl, some visitors from Japan were negotiating. It was represented to Stuckenberg that he would have an audience of several hundred students and get an appointment as Lecturer in the University of Tokio if he would go to this place to do missionary work. Two Japanese editors, Dr. Nemura, a minister, and Mr. Shamada, editor of an influential paper, both of Tokio, were visiting America to find the proper man. They wanted a man who could preach in German to the students. There was, they said, a decided tendency in Japan toward everything German. Dr. Nemura stated that Stuckenberg was already well and favorably known in the University of Tokio through his writings.

That he would have received some kind of appointment at the University is very probable. Japanese students who had attended his church and evening meetings in Berlin had a great liking for him and remembered him with letters expressing a remarkable devotedness to him; for instance

the letters of F. Obana, who was employed in the Mining office of the Public Works Department at Tokio; R. Nakashima, who had been a tutor at Yale, and sent to Berlin, with a letter of introduction from President Porter to Stuckenberg, and later professor at the University of Tokio.

Among others from Japan who came to Stuckenberg's meetings were I. T. Ise (Yokoi), Nobi Kamai, Dr. Shilasa, Dr. Junzo Kawamolo, Rev. M. Oshukave, Count Casa de Maeda, Mr. Obi, Mr. Shinreda, Inazo Ota, and several Japanese ladies in whom Mrs. Stuckenberg took interest.

Stuckenberg declined both Springfield and Tokio. He was, however, interested in the progress of American colleges and seminaries. He wrote articles about libraries left for sale in Germany. One American institution in Cleveland, Ohio, had purchased a library of 12,000 volumes, mainly in German literature, for \$7,000. He called attention to Ranke's library of 20,000 volumes and urged the purchase of it. This, too, was bought by an American institution. He cited as example, that Neander's library was in Rochester, N. Y., that Hartford Seminary had a most valuable collection on the Reformation. President Harper later bought for Chicago University a large German library, which brought criticism upon him. Stuckenberg advised against its purchase, but some of the responsibility of buying it was unjustly shouldered upon him.

His articles in *Homiletic Review* for 1887 were full of life, discussing some of the more famous productions of leading theologians and philosophers. He justly criticizes certain Catholic actions in Germany, and argues against materialism. He shows that Hegel is more popular in America than in Germany, dwells on the theories of Helmholtz, pronounces Fechner's teaching pantheistic, speaks of Virchow in pathology, Gustav Robert Kirchhoff's contributions in physics, of Bastian's work in ethnology. He speaks of the theological party-lines, of Schürer and Harnack's *Literaturzeitung*, which he praises. He has two lengthy articles in the October and November issues in the



*Review*, on Psychology, especially for preachers. He lauds Germany for its respect for law, and gives a discussion of Bluntschli's *History of the Science of Politics*, regarding the author as an eminent writer.

In the year of 1888 Stuckenberg treats in the *Homiletic Review* what he calls the political, national, international, and 'supernational'. Bismarck he classifies as national: In nationalism the state finds its best protection; the Chancellor called the socialists red and the Catholics black internationalists, who all were weakening the national state. Stuckenberg stands for the supernational, his thinking here being akin to that of French and English writers (Catholics, too, like to advocate it), who place *society* above the state—at first sight an attractive idea which, however, fares ill in the very able discussion of Emanuel Hirsch, in *Deutschlands Shicksal: Staat, Volk und Menschheit*, 1925. Stuckenberg was well at home in the ideas of Richard Rothe, who ventured the prediction that the Church some day will be absorbed by the state, that even the theater may discharge the function of the Church. Stuckenberg himself spoke of the possibility of a Christian theatre, but did not welcome the idea of Rothe. Of course, Rothe had in mind the organized visible church, Luther's "gemachte Kirche", which the Reformer could not find in Scripture. The Church of the Apostles' Creed certainly cannot be absorbed by anything corporative. It has no confines.

Stuckenberg notes with satisfaction the progress that the study of the New Testament is making at the University, relating that Professor B. Weiss was lecturing five hours a week on the Life of Christ and six hours on Corinthians. Two to three hundred students were attending his lectures. Weiss told them, he could not teach them the faith, he could show them the facts of the Gospel—only lead. Stuckenberg next discusses English thought, intellectual undercurrents, the theory of sermonizing. He finished the third installment on Psychology for Preachers (H. R. 119-128). He makes illuminating statements about Basser-mann, Nippold; Lotze and Wundt, who both went from the

study of medicine to that of philosophy. He praises Dörner's Ethics, and Martensen's Socialism. He relates about the solemn burial of Kirchhoff. We learn that Treitschke became Ranke's successor in the University and that he said he trusted he was a Christian and Protestant, though he could not subscribe to every word in the Augsburg Confession. Of course, such a testimony—we add—must be taken at its own value. It rated none too high with Erich Foerster, *Das Christentum der Zeitgenossen*, 1902. Stuckenberg has a kind word for Harnack, who had just been called to Berlin and whom Dr. Pfleiderer opposed. He has also kind words for Arthur Penrhyn Stanley and his great teacher Thomas Arnold.

He criticizes Schopenhauer: this philosopher deserves no centennial birthday recognition. He calls Heine a genius, and Stöcker, whom he highly respected, the leader of an exclusive orthodoxy. He quotes Maedler, the astronomer, as saying that a genuine socialist can not be an atheist and relates that Bastian, the ethnologist, criticized the work of Thomas Buckle. He has great praise for Frederick III, the 99 day Emperor: Frederick had democratic traits, ordering the court preacher, whom he generally heard when attending Potsdam, not to show him special recognition by bowing to him as the custom was when the preacher ascended the pulpit. He speaks highly of the Christian work of Count and Countess Waldersee. The Countess, a most lovely Christian character "is an honor to our country", "a most worthy representation of our Christianity." He is impatient with Berlin for building so few churches, touches upon inspiration as held by Professor Pettersen in Norway, and the traditional view of it taught by Krogh-Tønning, also in Norway, who later became a Catholic convert.

He refers to his visit in America, whose pulpit he regards as free, but also promotive of startling performances. In point of exegesis the German sermon is better. Too often in America the behavior of the congregation and bearing of the preacher put divine service on the level of entertainment.

Stuckenberg's leading contribution to the *Lutheran Observer* for 1888 is on the European situation, discussing the then recent speech of Bismarck warning Russia, due to the Pan-Slavic attitude she showed to Germany. Bismarck built no hope on the friendship of Russia. Stuckenberg pointed to a weak Czar and strong nihilism. Russia was, in his eyes, the most uncertain and dangerous factor in European politics. He considered Bismarck the best informed diplomat in Europe.

Stuckenberg was not forgotten in America. Dr. Schaff sent him a letter introducing his son David, who wanted to study Church History. Noah Porter gave a lady a letter of introduction to Stuckenberg. She was to study music. Princeton remembered him; he had lectured there in 1888. The Cliosophic (Clio) Society, founded in 1765, notified him that he had been elected an honorary member of it.

What especially made him feel pleased in 1888 was, however, the publication of his *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*.

## § 2. Introduction to the Study of Philosophy (1888)

It can be truthfully said that Stuckenberg's *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, of 422 pages, published in 1888 by A. C. Armstrong & Son, was a pioneer in our specifically pedagogic-philosophic literature. It was not an encyclopedia, not an introduction to any particular philosophical system, or to the history of various systems, but to the study of philosophy itself. It was not written for philosophers, but for students preparing themselves for philosophic pursuits. In a certain sense, it was also a forerunner of the *Introductions* of Külpe, Paulsen, Jerusalem, Wundt, in Germany; and Patrick in our country. From 75 to 90% of the demands for the book came from schools, the publishers later reported.

Since our object is to mirror Stuckenberg as much as possible in the light of the opinion of his contemporaries, it is well to let reviewers of the book pass on its value.

1) The *Literary World*, Boston, May 12, 1888, calls the volume a contribution to a department of metaphysical study in which there are "but few volumes to rival or to be equal his judicious pages." "Excellent sketches," it goes on to say, "can be found of the whole history of philosophy." The book is "vigorous in its discussion of the four branches of metaphysics, theory of knowledge, aesthetics, and ethics. Theory of knowledge is rightly emphasized as the basis of all philosophy." The Introduction is "solid, clear, fair-minded." It is one of conservatism, as compared with the Hegelian and Spencerian school, but perhaps not quite just to Comte.

Flattering as the review sounded, Stuckenberg remarked in a letter he thought the reviewer did not fully understand what he was talking about.

2) A very fine notice appeared in the *Golden Era*, July 28, but made no attempt to substantiate its claims.

3) Alexander T. Ormond, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Princeton, reviewed the book in *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1888. "This volume . . . occupies a unique place in philosophical literature. . . . Defining philosophy as a rational system of fundamental principles," Stuckenberg "considers the relation of philosophy to religion, natural science, and psychology. Philosophy and religion (he says) cannot afford to quarrel or to ignore each other. They are likened to two intersecting circles having part of their content in common. Religion views this content through the organ of faith; philosophy through the organ of reason. Hence arises misunderstanding and . . . hostility. But each needs the service of the other. 'A religion that ignores philosophy is in constant danger of superstition and fanaticism, while an exclusive philosophy attempts to compress the whole life into logical formulas, at which the heart rebels.' Philosophy cannot afford to ignore religion. It might as well attempt to ignore science. It must approach religion as it would any other body of facts, not to refute or explain away, but to investigate and understand. On the other hand, it is to the interest of religion to have its phenomena rationally explained, i. e.,



interpreted to the intellect, as far as this may be possible. . . . Only philosophy in attempting this rational function must not assume, as rationalism does, that religion may not contain any elements which cannot be rationally explained. Faith may rightfully hold as true what reason could neither discover nor demonstrate. The true function of reason in matters of faith is to require that faith shall be rational, i. e., that its beliefs shall not be self-contradictory or inconsistent with the fundamental laws of mind. Dr. Stuckenberg's treatment of this delicate subject is characterized by great moderation and good judgment.

"There ought not, Dr. Stuckenberg thinks, be any hostility between philosophy and natural science. The true relation is one of coöperation. . . . The processes of natural science are confined to the discovery, classification, and interpretation of facts and phenomena. These processes lead to laws which are in turn brought to the test of facts and observation. But beyond the scientific horizon there are certain fundamental concepts and principles which all sciences assume without criticism: principles of causality, identity and contradiction . . . space, time, motion, change, substance."

As to the relation of philosophy to psychology, "if we distinguish between rational and empirical psychology, the former constitutes a branch of philosophy. It is only with reference to empirical psychology that the question of relation needs to be considered. Psychology meaning empirical may be called 'A natural history of the mind.' 'Logic sees the laws necessary to discover truth, Psychology inquires into the rational processes of the mind. Logic is therefore normative, while psychology is descriptive.'" ". . . Dr. Stuckenberg regards the attempt of the English to absorb philosophy into psychology as a mistake. 'In discovering what transpires in the mind and in reducing this to laws, psychology does not give the philosophy of the mind.' 'In order to discover the norms of thought, feeling, and volition, we must ascend from the phenomenal to the rational.' 'Psychology is the door to Philosophy.'"

Stuckenberg rejects the classification "into . . . theoretical and practical philosophy, because all philosophy is theoretical . . . and the theoretical . . . is . . . practical."

"Two questions arise: (1) what exists? (2) what is my relation to existence? The first question gives rise to the problem of being and the science of *metaphysics*. The second has three branches, embracing our intellectual, emotional, and volitional relations to what exists, and giving rise, therefore, to Noetics, or the theory of knowledge, including Logic; Aesthetics, or the theory of the emotions, more specifically the theory of the beautiful; and Ethics, or the theory of duty. . . .

"There can be no question as to the necessity of such a treatise on philosophical pedagogic as Dr. Stuckenberg has written. . . . Its general conception and execution merit nothing but praise. . . . The spirit that pervades the volume is admirable. It is at once judicious, catholic, sweet-tempered. To treat philosophy from the pedagogical standpoint, without writing a treatise on philosophy, or unnecessarily obtruding one's own philosophical prepossession, is a task requiring rare discrimination, self-restraint, and good sense. Dr. Stuckenberg acquits himself of this critical task in a very creditable manner. . . . Every teacher of philosophy should have it on his table."

4) A Johns Hopkins professor, whose identity will be immediately discussed, wrote in *The Christian Union*, May 3, 1888:

"Philosophy has obtained an important contribution to its shelves in this work. It is to be hoped that it will bespeak a revival of interest in a too greatly neglected subject. Certainly students are to be congratulated upon their access to a valuable guide into great problems without having to rely upon dogmatism on the one hand, or an impossible amount of reading on the other. They can have here a judicious, liberal, and candid analysis of the great questions which must push themselves into prominence in spite of much indifference from the material and industrial interests of the age, and of greater fears from the theological. . . .

"The object of the work is adequately expressed in the preface. . . . The Introduction presents in very clear contrast the two tendencies of the age between which the choice is to be made. The greatest stress is laid upon that which is called the 'empirical' tendency. . . . However, the object is not to condemn that method in favor of any other, but to emphasize the existence, in all departments of inquiry, of convergent influence to a purely mechanical and materialistic view of life. The author has very truly perceived and stated the condition of things. . . . He does make clear what direction must be given if we are to remove a very greatly apprehended evil."

The reviewer then analyzes each chapter. "In the chapter on philosophy and natural science the chief feature is the decline of the transcendental movement of Germany in favor of more intelligible ways of thinking as represented in the experimental sciences. Although favoring the method of the latter, the author warns us against allowing it to supplant inquiry into the deeper nature of things. He points out, too, the dissatisfaction which scientists themselves are beginning to feel with a mere knowledge of facts."

As to the chapter on Noetics, it presents "a most admirable treatment of the relation of evolution to the problem of knowledge. It makes good the very important distinction between its origin and its validity, and hence minimizes the significance of heredity, which some would make the universal solvent, in determining the nature and truth of our ideas. . . . The chapter on Ethics is the most important. The student will find the ethical problem as carefully and as thoroughly analyzed here as can be desired. . . . The discussion presents a conciliating spirit where the animosity between different theories has been most bitter. The ethical tone observed is that of a moral law above the mere pursuit of pleasure and pain. . . . The closing chapter's remarks upon the spirit and method of the study have every aspect of the philosophical calm which so greatly needs cultivation in the controversies of the time. They enjoin a non-parti-

san examination of all problems. Each chapter is concluded by a good bibliography, also by a list of subjects for reflecting and independent study."

Who was the author of this excellent review? It was unsigned. Professor A. C. Armstrong told Mrs. Stuckenberg that it was a Johns Hopkins professor, but did not state the name. More than a generation later, Mrs. Stuckenberg had the entire article copied, sent it to Dr. G. Stanley Hall, inquiring whether perchance he was the author. He had resigned from Johns Hopkins in 1888, and gone to Clark University as its President. But he could only say that he *hoped* he wrote the review:

"I have read the enclosed with the utmost attention and interest, but, strange as it may appear, I am still in doubt whether I wrote it or not. It brings back vividly to my mind the book, which I certainly read very carefully, but I have written so many scores if not hundreds of book reviews in the last thirty years that I cannot tell exactly; I rather fancy it was some double of mine that wrote this. I believe it was just what I would have said so far as I can recall. It seems to be not only my position but my style also; yet there are one or two terms that still make me doubt. I am very sorry that after all the trouble you took to copy this I cannot give you a definite answer. I can only say that I hope I wrote it and that it is what I would have said as far as I can remember."

It may be added that Professor Hall knew Stuckenberg, having heard him in Berlin, where he, liking his sermons, asked for an introduction. He corresponded with him, and sought his help in getting clippings from professional journals for his *American Journal of Psychology*.

5) An unidentified reviewer writing for a "Journal . . .," only the proof, marked W. E. Shekton, being at hand, says: Stuckenberg's book is "definite in aim." "Dr. Stuckenberg is a thinker. Without boasting of originality he has that independence devoid of crankiness which is so refreshing. He shows no disposition to amass material of thought, but rather a skill in directing and developing the energy of



thought. . . . The work is unquestionably the author's confessional, in which are revealed the difficulties and obstacles which he has met in his early studies.

"Though thoroughly familiar with the ancient authorities in metaphysics, he has based his work largely upon his extended studies in Berlin, and what is to us the greater charm of the book, he has stated the various problems with equal loyalty to America's individuality in thought and life and Germany's loyalty to the idea. He never hesitates to honor the demand of the English speaking race for that empiricism which a love of nature and respect of mechanics and mathematics demand, and at the same time he heroically makes it subservient to the ideal. The concrete is endless, while fundamental thought unifies fragmentary thought into a system which reduces concrete chaos into harmonious relations. One rarely finds fifty more mentally healthful pages than those which lead up to the simple definition: 'Philosophy is the rational system of fundamental principles.' The Relation of Philosophy to Religion, to Natural Science, to Empirical Psychology are all handled with the skill of a master. The chapters on Aesthetics and Ethics are peculiarly quickening to thought.

" . . . We close the book, after a fascinating reading, satisfied that no American work on philosophy promises to be so intelligent and interesting to the student or non-student reader who wishes to think keenly into the realms of philosophy. It is 'great thought' speaking after the manner of base ballists."

The *Introduction* was also reviewed by Professor Borton P. Bowne in Cook's *Our Day*. Reviews of it also appeared in the *Nation*, June 28, 1888, and in Ulrici's *Zeitschrift*.

The book was used as early as 1888 as a text book in Wellesley College and in Albion College. President David J. Hill, spending half a day on October 16, 1888, with Stuckenberg in Berlin, told him that ten students of his college competed for a prize, the condition being the greatest proficiency in mastering the contents of Stuckenberg's *Introduction*. The identity of the college alluded to is un-

certain. It was either Bucknell, which Hill left in 1888, or Rochester University, whose presidency he accepted the same year. Likely it was Bucknell. The book was also used as a text book by Henry C. King when professor of philosophy at Oberlin, and by President Stubbs, of Baldwin University. Dr. King wrote:

"In conversation with President Stubbs, of Baldwin University, the other day, he suggested that you would be glad to know of the use we have been making of your 'Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.' I have taught the book twice now and have felt, quite aside from President Stubbs' suggestion, that I would be glad personally to express to you the great pleasure I have had in the use of this book. It seems to me admirably adapted to its purpose, and I have congratulated my class more than once that the book has been written. We use it as one of our introductory courses, and though it is elective, recommend it not only to students who are going on with considerable study of philosophy, but also to those who expect to go little beyond the required work."

The *Lutheran Observer* seemed to be at loss as to the significance of the book. Stuckenberg commented amused. "The *Lutheran Observer* puts its notice under usual book notices—the second in the column. It is good enough, what there is of it. Had it been a tract on Luther or the Lutheran Church, a column on the editorial page would likely have been devoted to it. Schon recht."

The volume went through nine editions. The edition of 1902 is listed in the A. L. A. Catalog (1904).

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The weak spot in the book appears in establishing the relation between religion and philosophy. It is apologetic in its bent and therefore finds a relationship between the two. In the days of Plato, there is a relationship between religion and philosophy almost amounting to identity. It is difficult to tell when Plato "talks" religion or "talks" philosophy. Modern thinkers have questioned whether his entire system is not as much religion as philosophy. Assured-

ly the religions, which make knowledge, or a known content, the essence of religion, will not dispute the claim that religion and philosophy are at least like "intersecting circles, having a part of their content in common." However, Christianity looks at this differently.

Søren Kierkegaard taught that Christianity is not content, but a relation—relation with God. This has nothing to do with philosophy. Philosophy has no content to offer it. Religion draws on revelation, and not on reason as a source. It is a life, different from all biologic, psychologic life, though it can make use of this, since it takes possession of the entire man.

Moreover, the book does not seem to distinguish sharply between religion and theology. Older religions could say they were theologies. Christianity as *the* religion is *described* by theology, but is not theology. In this theology, philosophy does only formal service. It offers no new content, and is not a complement. Anselm could say that reason is a higher form of faith (*credo ut intelligam*). Abelard could say that reason is antecedent to faith, and therefore faith is a higher form of reason. J. Duns Scotus was so cuttingly sharp in his manipulation of Aristotle's conception of knowledge and logic that the deduction could be made from his teaching that faith ("Dogma", religious truth) is not only incapable of being proved, but is absurd in the eyes of philosophy. This is the blind alley of scholasticism, to which the other two contentions must lead.

Luther gave the correct answer: reason and faith lie on two different planes. The one cannot be changed into the other. They have no opportunity to collide unless they go beyond their limits; and the one does not make the other absurd.

Formally, philosophy can help theology, as even philology can. But the help is only formal. Therefore, a Christian believes in *two* kingdoms. For one of them, reason is "law," for the other faith is "law." It is the old problem over again, of Law and Gospel, solved by Luther, but, alas, in many pulpits today a lifeless echo from the past, and

therefore the cause of much confusion of thought. That much, at least, the last twenty years of Luther research have taught us.

§ 3. Invitations—Writes for Herbert Stead—Renewed Inquiry from Dr. Ort

The years immediately following Stuckenberg's return from America greatly increased the demands upon him for professional contributions to magazines and offered him memberships in various organizations. The "Ethical Society in London" was planning to launch in January, 1890, a monthly journal called the *International Journal of Ethics*. Professor G. V. Gizyski, of the University of Berlin, requested him by letter to write articles for it. He mentioned a number of prominent professors of theology and philosophy in the University who had promised to write. Stuckenberg was once more urged by the editor to write for Ulrici's *Zeitschrift*. The Council of the "Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain" invited him twice to membership, as did also the "American Institute for Christian Philosophy." He counted it an honor to be approached, but did not accept the invitations. Rev. G. Wenner of New York wrote to him about giving lectures at Gettysburg College and Seminary. Everet A. Congdon brought him an introductory letter from J. L. Lincoln, Providence, who stated that he had been lecturing on Ranke, basing his lectures to some extent on what he had heard from Stuckenberg the previous winter in Berlin, and on his article written in the *Andover Review*. Peter Rudolph Neff, in Cincinnati, negotiated through the Berlin pastor with Carl Marten, the violinist, whom he wished to engage for his Conservatory. Professor James W. McCosh wrote several letters about his books with which he wished to make Germany acquainted, through Stuckenberg. F. Herbert Stead, of England, brother of William Thomas Stead, solicited several articles from Stuckenberg. The articles he wrote for Stead were enlightening to the English public. One of them was called *Religious Movements*



in Germany; another, *The Ferment in German Religious Thought and Life*; a third, *Emancipation*. These appeared in the latter part of 1890 in the "Independent and Christian Nonconformist." Another article, *The Church and Socialism* appeared in January, 1891 in the "Christian World." Both papers were edited by Herbert Stead, who editorially introduced him as an authority on the social thought of Germany and, moreover, as the author of *Christian Sociology*, so favorably known in England. Both Stead and Stuckenberg were certain that Christianity had a sociological message for the human race, notwithstanding that Luther said: *Christus non curat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed rex est ad destruendum Diaboli regnum et ad salvandos homines*.

It can be taken for granted that Stuckenberg's views expressed in these English papers would have a larger following in our age with its emphasis on the social gospel. However, here his conception is more akin to that of W. Rauschenbusch and Anglo-Saxon *Taufertum* than to that of *Luther*. Luther did not object to the social and economic improvement of the status of the peasants in the Peasants' War. He said many of their demands were fair. But he objected to the Peasants' making these demands in the name of Christ or Christianity. They were matters that concerned reason, and not revelation. The solution would be found in the use of reason.

Then there were requests for personal favors. Dr. H. Louis Baugher asked him to inquire in Berlin about some photographs for his Greek class room at Gettysburg College. David Edwards, who was preaching for a small congregation in Leipzig, somewhat similar to that of the American Church in Berlin, inquired whether the Leipzig congregation would not have authority to ordain him. D. M. Mayer, a gifted archeologist wrote from Athens, asking for letters of introduction and complaining of being differentiated against, in the German Church, for being a Jew. G. Stanley Hall, as has been noticed, asked for clippings and pamphlets for his Journal. The Committee of

the "Philosophical Club" at New Haven invited him to give lectures at his expected visit next spring.

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Again Wittenberg, through S. A. Ort, its president, knocked at his door: Would he not consider coming to Wittenberg? Under date of January 1, 1890, after discussing the time for holding the Wittenberg lectures, Ort writes: "I shall be glad to see you when you come, and I wish to have a long talk with you. There are many questions I would like to ask you about. . . . Some views of my own I would like to submit, but I will have to leave that for a personal interview." He relates, the college is vastly different from what it was when Stuckenberg left 10 years before. "Why didn't you stay and leave me in New York? I was foolish for giving up a life aim, and a fool for taking the presidency. I think I shall give it up at the close of this year and either teach theology or philosophy. And yet to spend one's time with only a handful each year is not very inviting or inspiring. From your point of view, what do you judge what one like myself should do?"

The next letter from Dr. Ort is written in September of the same year. He asks: "Suppose you would be elected to a professorship in our Seminary in the line of your present investigations, would you accept? . . . I have been trying to get our College out of the common place life it has been living, and on a brighter plane. But I am hampered on all sides. What is needed here now is men of special attainments, men of force, men who will be recognized as superiors in their departments, even authorities. We have an old line of teachers, good enough as drillmasters, but lacking in profound scholarship. This keeps us back. We are not in this respect up with neighboring colleges. . . . We have now an admirable theological building. The next thing is to make it a school of theology in its best sense. . . . We catalogue over 300 students. I hope in a year or two to have 500 students. . . . Now, Doctor, I think by the help of yourself we can make Wittenberg College a center of vigorous thought and wide influence. Give me some of your views on College matters."

Stuckenberg gave but little encouragement. On October 27, Ort again wrote: "Yours at hand. I see the force of what you say. The field you now occupy is much wider than any you could have in this country. My desire to build up a great institution is so strong that I am determined to break up the order of things here and introduce men who can give fame to the college."

However, a different type of letters came from a faculty member about a "scheme to revolutionize the General Synod," "its autonomy must be preserved." This bit of news may have contributed to make Stuckenberg cautious, or strengthened him in his determination to stay where he was.

Stuckenberg was not quite well. He even inquired about soldier's pension; since the ailment that would appear in summer could be traced back to the War—a rheumatic affection. He postponed for years, however, in making the application, which then was granted. He was then as always very conscientious. When a public servant was discharged in Berlin owing to some discourtesy shown Stuckenberg, the latter got him reinstated. When hurt years later, in Boston, due to a conductor, who started the motor car before Stuckenberg could get on, he wrote a letter of complaint. But he did not send it, realizing that the man would lose his job.

In the summer of 1890 he had influenza which made him unfit for work for several weeks. He wrote several articles, however, for the "Lutheran Observer": On *Wichern*, *Empress Augusta*, *Karl von Hase*, *Döllinger*, *Catholic Slander Against Luther*, *Self-conscious Protestantism*, *The Socialistic Movement*.

His contributions to "Homiletic Review" during this period dealt with subjects like Catholic bigotry, Zahn's view of the authenticity of Paul's letters, Canon Cheney's critical views. He again mentions the uncritical reading public of England in falling so abjectly before Mrs. Humphry Ward's book *Robert Elsmere*, and quotes a statement made by Professor Beyschlag about the matter. He shows

the distinction the Germans make between "visible and invisible church": Inner Mission is not a part of the work of the state church, yet is a work of the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom thus being broader than the Church.<sup>20</sup>

He also relates that the University of Berlin had 4781 students in 1890, of which 698 studied theology and 1664 philosophy. America was represented by 159 students. He criticizes American theological seminaries for their inefficiency in training their students: "They are narrowly sectarian, shirk the scientific and philosophical questions of the day." "Some seminaries are haunted by Ghosts of antiquity." He states that it is an open secret that there are prominent men who cannot conscientiously advise students to attend the seminaries of which they are directors."

Was the theological seminary at Wittenberg College entirely free from these blemishes? At least Dr. Ort did not seem to think so.

§ 4. Desired at Western Reserve University—Visits Florence—Mrs. Stuckenberg Describes Evening Gatherings—Serving Others—Editorial Work—Rev. J. B. Remensnyder—Greetings from the Fatherland—Orthodox Lutheranism in Germany—Visits the United States—Negotiations with W. R. Harper—Church Historian Corrected

President Ort was also urging him to write for the *Evangelist*. "You know what a furor at present exists in the General Synod about liturgical forms. Our men seem to be blind, they do not seem to be knowing what is going on in the religious world and are ignorant of the fact that far more vital concerns are in question now than what mode of service we should use in the House of God." He then reminds Stuckenberg for the third time that the school is ready to receive a gift promised by him. The gift came in due time to Wittenberg: an eighteen volume Herbarium including twenty-five hundred specimens of European plants, single cellular forms as well as the flowering plants.<sup>21</sup>

Stuckenberg now wrote many articles for the *Evangelist*, but more or less in defense of the General Synod, which he



felt was being attacked for not being sufficiently liturgical and confessional.

President Charles F. Thwing, as anxious to have him for his school, as was Dr. Ort for his, sent him a letter, describing Western Reserve University and included the question: "I want to ask you, Would you consider with favor an election to its professorship of philosophy? The salary is \$2,500?" This was a gratifying question as was also the information from a pastor in Kansas that thirty preachers there had formed a club to study his *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*. The effect of such information seemed to be to confirm him more in the resolve to continue with his work in Berlin.

Letters were steadily coming to him about the unrest at Wittenberg College territory. Dr. J. B. Helwig, formerly President of Wittenberg College, and later pastor of the First Lutheran Church in Springfield, Ohio, related that he had resigned from the church. The work was too extensive, he said, and he could not get pastor assistance; moreover, "the theological cast that things have assumed at Wittenberg is of a kind that I cannot at all endure and encourage; and yet under the shadow of the institution I did not think it best to array myself positively against the trend of things. . . . I fear also it is too late to do so with any hope of success in the opposite direction." He objected to the prominence the Common Service was getting, to the Krautian interpretation of articles 9 and 10 of the Augsburg Confession, and to the Synod's going back to the pit of confessionalism, "from which it was digged." Things had "changed since Sprecher's leaving." "Dr. Ort is neither one thing nor the other, and Drs. Gotwald and Breckenridge are teaching the Lutheranism that our fathers rejected."

Stuckenberg's articles now became more polemical. He felt he was championing the cause of a noble inheritance. He stressed Schaff's address at the Evangelical Alliance in the spring of 1891, that there should be greater unity among Protestants. He related about Dr. Stöcker's invitation to all believers present at the meeting of the Alliance,

the year before in Copenhagen, to partake of the Lord's Supper, when the Scandinavian Lutheran delegates communed with the Reformed. Stuckenberg felt that this unity was all the more necessary since Social Democracy was making strong attacks on the Church. As to vestments he quoted Luther's amusing letter to Georg Buchholzer, and Dr. Chr. Palmer's contention that the liturgy of the Church in Württemberg is even less elaborate than that of the Calvinistic churches. While stressing these ideas in the *Lutheran Observer* and the *Evangelist*, he wrote for the "Advance" in Chicago, edited by Dr. Thwing, *The Progressive Elements in German Thought* and *The European Situation*, April and October, 1891. He endeavored to show that theology, especially Ethics, was being applied more to the church than before.

He reported about the meeting of the Alliance at Florence, where he advocated the cause of the American Church in Berlin, and met many famous people. Mrs. Stuckenberg remained at home and worked, through the papers, for the church project. In March, 1891, she relates that there were 217 young American men at the Berlin University that winter, and about 400 young ladies and men from America were in the city studying music. Many tourists also were in the capital. The Ladies' Union conducted prayer meetings. The King's Daughters visited girls, looked after the sick, solicited money for pews. The Young Men's League was helping the cause of the church among men. The audience room rented for services on Sunday held 370 persons. "It is often filled to the last seat."

"For want of any other place to meet in, the young people gather in the pastor's parlors Sunday evening." Then, in Mrs. Stuckenberg's description, "all the tables are carried out, the bedroom furniture is removed from an adjoining bedroom and the space of three rooms is crowded by 170 chairs set for the purpose. These are regularly occupied and often even the corridor, all the available space in the house is crowded. Sometimes more chairs are borrowed. Does it not look as if a church were needed?"

Mrs. Stuckenberg was aided by willing ladies, who helped to put her house in order again, and helped in preparing and serving lunch at these stimulating gatherings, where some of the best available talent appeared. But to be a housewife under such circumstances was not an enviable position. However, the inconvenience of it all was more than repaid by the presence of the assembly, ever eager, enthusiastic and grateful.

These meetings, besides the morning services, were for many the zenith of the week. But what work, aside from the pastoral, during the course of the week! What experiences met the Stuckenbergs! In May, 1891, he confirmed two girls who had been rejected at "Heilig Kreuz Kirche" because they had white dresses! The little son of an American was very ill, it seemed, unto death. Stuckenberg asked the congregation to unite with him in prayer to God to look down to the afflicted family. The father had come to him during the week, but had never been in Stuckenberg's church. The son recovered. The letter of the parent, later received, stated: "My dear Friend: For after your very great kindness to me when I went to you in the hour of our deepest tribulation I feel entitled to call you so. . . . Although the worst we feared did not happen, I have never regretted calling upon you at the time I did. So much solace and strength came to me from the grasp of your hand, and your hearty offers of sympathy and help. Please believe you have the gratitude of my inmost heart, and the black cloud in our Berlin experience will always be brightened in my memory by the fraternal greetings I received from an earnest, large-hearted man."

Then the more commonplace happenings of a month: A Bulgarian, Mr. Thomoff, writes requesting advice as to what English work on Ethics he should translate into Bulgarian. Dr. A. C. Armstrong asked Stuckenberg to negotiate with Dr. Richard Falckenberg for permission to translate the latter's *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, which permission was granted. As a consequence an excellent work appeared in a splendid translation. President



Scovel, of Wooster, asked the Berlin pastor to communicate with him about Hamlin Hunt, whom he desired for his Department of Music at Wooster and who later did fine work in Minneapolis. Dr. George Coe called to say goodbye. Professor Stevens likewise. Professor David Steele called. On the 90th birthday of Professor Mitchell, the founder of the "Philosophische Gesellschaft in Berlin," Stuckenberg read before the Society, in honor of the founder, a paper on the *Influence of Hegelian Philosophy in Great Britain and the United States of America*.

In the *Homiletic Review* for 1891 he points to the Gegensätze, uppermost in the discussion of the times. He called attention to the position of Franz Frank of Erlangen and Chr. E. Luthardt in Leipzig, stating that the doctrine of the Church was in a stage of transition, and that the new was not to be excluded, but should be born out of the old. He speaks of the Court preachers: Dr. Stöcker, the most popularly known; Dr. Kögel, who was most liked at Court and called by Ranke a "preacher by God's grace;" Dr. Schrader, who was also a member of the Diet and had shown much hospitality to Stuckenberg. He discusses Dr. Emil Schulze, the preacher for the masses, and comments upon the publication of the Letters of Ranke, who claimed that not doctrine, but great personalities influence the world. He criticizes those who substitute knowledge for faith and thus commit the fatal mistake of agnosticism. He lauds Diesterweg, who insists on the development of personality; and he calls him the Pestalozzi of Germany. He refers to Georg von Bunsen's appreciation of his friend Bancroft; to Dr. Karl von Hase's statement that Church History some day will be regarded as a general culture subject in schools. He comments on Friedrich Vischer's Aesthetics; works of Gustav Rümelin, Hans Vaihinger, Karl Nägelli, the Swiss Botanist, who preceded Darwin in proclaiming the mutability of species. He dwells on the Egyptology of Henry Brugsch, the works of Dr. Martin Nathusius and Alexander Jung; on the vote of the professor for retaining classical languages, the great majority voting for their retention.



With the article published in January, 1892, he resigned from his work on the *Homiletic Review*. During all these years he had written, as his wife states, "every line himself." She, too, contributed articles, generally translations of sermons, but under her own name, and not in any way connected with his Department. Stuckenberg, after his return to America, resumed in 1895 his work on the *Review*, at a salary of \$1,000 a year. The editors who had much regretted his withdrawal, were pleased to have his services again.

From February, 1885, to the close of the year 1887, the caption of his Department was *Current Religious Thought on Continental Europe*. From January, 1888, to the close of 1892, it was the *European Department*. From 1895, when he resumed his work on this *Review*, till his death it was the Department of Sociology.

His audience consisted of preachers and professors or other leaders of religious education. The *Review* had a larger circulation (16,000) than any other clergyman's magazine in the world, reaching fully one fourth of the clergy in America and many ministers in the British possessions. Dr. I. K. Funk had especially developed it from his former *The Preacher and Homiletic Monthly*, which again had evolved from a combination of the *Metropolitan Pulpit* and the *Complete Preacher*. Stuckenberg presented every month from 10 to 12 pages of printed matter, giving a digest of the best religious thought of Europe, except England, which Joseph Parker, it seems, conducted none too well. Besides, Stuckenberg contributed many special articles to the *Review*. He came much in contact with Dr. Funk, fellow graduate of Wittenberg College and with his partner in the firm, Rev. Wagnalls. Dr. Funk tried at one time to secure Stuckenberg's services exclusively for the *Review*, requesting him to move to New York. As to the nature of his contributions, Dr. Stuckenberg had entirely free hand, especially under the management of Dr. J. M. Sherwood as chief editor. But when D. S. Gregory became

chief editor, a man of fundamentalistic persuasion, some friction arose. Gregory presumed to withhold articles which Stuckenberg sent, lest the readers might be contaminated by the free thought of them. Stuckenberg's indignation rose at times to a pitch that determined him to part company with the *Homiletic Review*. However, Dr. Funk getting the facts, made counter representations to the "chief editor," who got busy making explanations and apologies. . . . "Allow me therefore to urge upon you personally, in connection with the urgent wish of Dr. Funk, that you reconsider your decision and carry on your work for *The Review* in the future as in the past."

Stuckenberg had written a short paragraph about Evolution, which Gregory thought "was in conflict with your admirable short paper printed in January, 1901." Professor W. C. Wilkinson had written on Daniel, and that article called forth a "loud protest from the press." Professor Anthony, too, had written, and that was too liberal. Hence caution was necessary. Thus Gregory.

Stuckenberg, who, moreover, felt himself competent to judge as to alleged contradictions in his writings, did not see it that way. He had protested and refused to write any more under restrictions. Virtually he had no control over his articles due to the ways of the managing editor and yet he was held responsible for them. Dr. Gregory's request to Stuckenberg to continue his work on the *Review* was written in April, 1902. Stuckenberg henceforth continued his Department without any more editorial interference. Death removed him in 1903. Gregory soon parted company with the *Review*, becoming in 1904 Secretary of the American Bible League and editor of the *Bible and Student Teacher*. He had edited the *Review* from 1895 to 1904; was a normal school graduate with theology added, had been professor of "metaphysics and logic, and English" at Wooster University, President of Lake Forest University from 1878 to 1888, and managing editor of the *Standard Dictionary* from 1890 to 1894.

Numerous letters were now received by Stuckenberg from the United States detailing the church situation in Ohio and particularly at Wittenberg College. The theological faculty at Wittenberg was now considered a leader in narrow confessionalism. President Ort was blamed—likely unjustly—by letter writers for delaying Stuckenberg's promised visit to the United States in May, 1892. Dr. Ort protested, requesting him to suspend judgment. "You are heartily welcome here just as you always have been. . . . You should be paid the expenses of coming, which would be \$300." According to arrangements, Stuckenberg was to visit Wittenberg to lecture every two or three years.

One man had particularly aggravated the situation. Dr. Junius Benjamin Remensnyder had appeared on the scene with a crude attack on Stuckenberg's contributions to the *Homiletic Review*.

Remensnyder had served one year as chaplain of the army. He had been pastor in Philadelphia and Savannah, Georgia, where he acquired southern oratory. He had come to New York in 1880. He was "enrolled in New York City records, 1922, as one of the city's eminent men," according to Dr. A. W. Wentz's *History of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary*, 1926 (p. 433).

Stuckenberg received a number of letters, even from those who entertained views opposite to his, deploring Remensnyder's uncalled for and ungracious attack. Pouring out his vial of wrath in the *Lutheran World*, Remensnyder did "confess to no sadder reading than that of his (Stuckenberg's) 'Current European Thought' articles in the *Homiletic Review*." Not a "kindly word for the Lutheran Church" could be found in them. They "concealed every creditable fact and distorted every phase of the church situation in Germany, so as to increase the prejudices of American Christians against Orthodoxy and historical Lutheranism." Remensnyder expressed the hope that Stuckenberg would postpone his coming to Wittenberg indefinitely.

Stuckenberg now refers to the general situation in a letter to the *Lutheran Evangelist*, dated May 27, 1892. He



had not written for seven months, having been ill. Then, in a twelve page pamphlet, *Greetings from the Fatherland*, which appeared in June, 1892, he defended the position of the General Synod, which he declared was also his own position. He defended the Synod's doctrinal position by referring to a number of German theologians of note.

Stuckenberg further defended his position in a pamphlet which was reprinted as articles in the "Lutheran Observer", 1892-93. It was dated, Berlin, August 30, 1892, was twenty-eight pages long, and bore the title, *Orthodox Lutheranism in Germany and the Confessional Position of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States; Testimony of Leaders; An End of Controversy*.

On September 4, 1892, Stuckenberg embarked for America to lecture. He had many invitations, from Joseph Cook, Ohio Wesleyan University, Oberlin, Gettysburg, Yale. But his main objective was Wittenberg College, where he began to lecture at the Chapel, October 11, and continued through the week. He was made to feel at home wherever he came; his letters written on this tour are filled with expressions of delight. The students of Wittenberg presented him with a "Memorial", a neatly typed document of four pages, expressing the finest appreciation for him as a Christian and a gentleman, and for his lectures and life work. He had large audiences, and he lectured in the church before 400 people.

We next find him in Cincinnati where he addressed 200 ministers on "German Socialism." He attended the meeting of the Miami Synod at Lancaster, Ohio, and preached there. He next gave six lectures to the students at Gettysburg. Here, too, the students presented him with a "Memorial" document expressing marked appreciation for himself and his work ("Lutheran Observer," November 4, 1892). The Theological Faculty of Yale extended an invitation to him, and he lectured at Yale, November 7. In November, he returned to Germany, much pleased at the reception he had been accorded.

In 1891-92, a number of letters were exchanged between Stuckenberg and Dr. Harper, President of the University



of Chicago. These letters showed that Dr. Harper, of whom it was said he wrecked universities to build up his own faculty on the shores of Lake Michigan, made at his visit to Berlin some kind of a proposition to Stuckenberg about becoming a member of his faculty of philosophy in the University of Chicago. But it took the President a long time to complete the transaction satisfactorily to everybody concerned. In fact, some curves in the roadbed made him trouble. His letters contained a dilatory, slightly evasive element as if he were laboriously weighing the conditional sentences of Greek grammar. His move would be contingent upon this or that. He was looking for a head of the Department and hoped, it seemed, to have Stuckenberg as one of its professors. "I have been greatly embarrassed by certain circumstances in the organization of the Department of Philosophy, circumstances which I shall explain later." But the probability, however, was in favor of Stuckenberg's coming to Chicago. Finally, he offered him \$1,000 for lecturing twelve weeks, ten hours a week, in the University during the World's Fair, on themes that Stuckenberg could himself choose, preferably in Philosophy. This was to be a try-out. However, this proposal, judging by a letter from Dr. Harper to Stuckenberg, did "not at all seem acceptable" to the latter. Dr. Harper was "still hoping," however.

In the mean time Dr. Harper asked him for information about Professor "Rine" in Germany as a possible man to head the Department of Education. Stuckenberg replied by letter that the man's name was Wilhelm Rein, and that it would hardly be well to transplant him. Dr. Harper agreed and blamed his stenographer for the misspelling of the name. Rein became the most influential educator of the school of Herbart. He delivered three lectures at Oxford in 1894, six in Sweden in 1895; he lectured at Cambridge and Edinburgh in 1896. He also gave lectures in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. Best known is his *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, of many volumes.

Before the year 1892 ended, Professor E. J. Wolf of Gettysburg Seminary took upon himself to correct the logic of Stuckenberg, based upon his own (Wolf's) unhappy confusion of Dr. Ferdinand Philippi with Dr. Friederich Adolph Philippi. Stuckenberg refuted the correction, rebuking with sting the ignorance displayed by the incumbent of the chair of Church History at Gettysburg. His article has the charitable superscription *Thanks to Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D.*, is dated December 27, 1892, and was published in the "Lutheran Evangelist". It was a plain answer to an uninformed man entering upon the dangerous task of informing one better informed.

Withal, Stuckenberg was faithful to the General Synod and scientific theology, and he was hopeful, as was indicated by his articles, *Our Golden Opportunity*, February 3, 1893, and *How Can We Seize Our Opportunity*, April 14, both in the "Lutheran Observer."

The atmosphere in the General Synod was uncomfortable, especially in Ohio. Clouds of storm were gathering—rapidly.

§ 5. Effect of Gotwald Trial—James Stalker—Resignation from Church—Regrets—Slander Refuted—Returns to the United States

In the eighties and nineties it was fashionable to have church trials, in which theological professors would be tried and often deposed for deviations from the accepted standards of theology in the church body controlling the school that employed them. There was a trial at Andover Seminary, ending with the dismissal of one of the teachers, though with the exoneration of the rest of the Faculty, including Dr. E. C. Hincks, whose correspondence with Stuckenberg with reference to articles for the *Andover Review* has been noticed. Brown University retired its President, E. Benjamin Andrews, because of his views on economics, though Chicago felt he was safe enough for its city Superintendency of Schools from 1898 to 1900, when he became Chancellor of the University of Nebraska. A university in Tennessee dismissed a professor in geology for not con-

forming to the geology of Genesis. Charles A. Briggs was tried for heresy and acquitted by the Presbytery of New York, but suspended the year after by the General Assembly. His teaching was a peculiar combination of higher criticism and Romeward leanings. Several other trials of a similar kind were held, causing much uneasiness and often injustice to those concerned.

A trial was also held at Wittenberg Seminary, in 1893, the accused being Dr. Luther A. Gotwald, who had come to the Seminary in 1888, a man of sympathy and a man of wealth. It was believed by many that he was leading the General Synod to the General Council by his confessionalism and ritualism. From what was said on the floor of the Miami Synod which met in October, 1892, Stuckenberg was prompted to address a letter to him based upon statements made by some who were professing to advocate Dr. Gotwald's views. There is doubt as to whether he sent it.

In the "Lutheran Observer," November 11, 1892, Dr. Gotwald addressed a long letter to the President of the Board, declaring his doctrinal views in matters concerning which he was suspected of differing from the views of the General Synod. Some later claimed that the views here set forth were modified to suit the occasion. He closed by asking that the Board give him opportunity to make a full declaration to the Board of his position as a teacher in a General Synod Seminary. His colleagues, S. F. Breckenridge and S. A. Ort, joined him in making this request.

The President of the Board took the liberty of prefacing the publication of this declaration by stating that he was "intimately acquainted" with Dr. Gotwald, that he as an officer was "fully satisfied" that his statements were "absolutely correct and true."

On February 9, 1893, three men of Dayton, Ohio, filed charges against Gotwald before the Directors of the Board. These men were Alexander Gebhart, Jos. R. Gebhart, and Rev. E. E. Baker. A very unusual "trial" was held April 4-5. The proceedings, or the stenographic report of the

trial, were ordered printed in 1500 copies. The report covers 87 printed pages.

The Board appointed two men to prosecute—Rev. E. E. Baker and Rev. E. D. Smith; and two to defend—Rev. G. M. Grau and Judge J. W. Adair. The Board, by majority vote, altered the charges of the complainants and wanted them to prove these charges. The complainants refused to have anything to do with the amended charges, because these charges were not *their* charges. The trial went on in a haphazard way. There was nobody to prosecute the original charges. Both Baker and Smith, appointed “prosecutors”, were firm in refusing to “prosecute”. There was summoning of this and that “witness”. One would appear, another would refuse to appear. Dr. Gotwald’s colleagues defended him, by their answer, in this strangely conducted trial. Even students were asked to testify in the embarrassing proceedings. The whole thing ended, and had to end, by the acquittal of all the charges preferred against Dr. Gotwald, by a vote of 25; 3 parties not voting. Professor Ehrenfeld called it all a “farce”.

Both E. E. Baker and E. D. Smith later left the Lutheran Church, to become ministers in other church bodies. Baker went to the Presbyterians, Smith to the Methodists. The latter wrote a long letter, October 13, 1893, to Stuckenberg about the trial and the reasons for his leaving the Lutheran Church. He had graduated from Wittenberg College in 1874 and from the Seminary in 1876.

Not all members of the Board were competent judges. Those who lacked theological training, even though they were jurists, were far from competent to judge theologically. Mr. Manns, a member of the Board, stated at the trial that he, as late as June, 1892, did not know what the Galesburg Rule was; and that when, in the same month, Dr. Gotwald spoke of the Augsburg Confession and the symbolical books, it was the first time, he believed, that he had heard about symbolical books!

This “trial” demonstrated to Stuckenberg that there was a change of hearts at Wittenberg College since the time he



had taught there. At least, that was the way it appeared to him. He would never be available for his alma mater, even if he should return to the United States.

Letters again came in good numbers to him from America, from pastors and lay people. He especially welcomed those of J. W. Richard (while in Germany and later), M. Valentine, and President McKnight, at Gettysburg, who all, he felt, championed the cause of the historical General Synod. He felt he knew German life and thought, better than did Wittenberg. There were others that entertained a similar belief as to his ability. Dr. James Stalker, from Glasgow, wrote him a letter at this time, introducing a Dr. Walker, "very anxious to learn something on the conditions of Germany: and I have told him that no man knows the subject better than you." Dr. Stalker had declined to preach at his last visit in Berlin, but "the next time I come, I will preach without fail, if you do me the honor of asking me again."

Stuckenberg's services were indeed appreciated. Mr. Fenelon Rice, of the Oberlin Conservatory, sent him 402 marks, the receipts from a concert. He insisted that the money should go to Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg for taking a rest when they needed it. Stuckenberg felt he could not accept this without consulting James Watt, of the Church Council, who insisted that the money was Stuckenberg's, though it might be well to inform other members of the Council, to avoid misunderstandings. Rev. Louis Jordan, who had labored in Montreal, Canada, and went to Oxford, England, drew up a very fine appeal, January 3, 1893, for the American Church in Berlin and gladdened Stuckenberg's heart with it. It was much circulated in Canada. He himself collected \$1,000 for the church.

The conviction was growing upon Stuckenberg that he should return to America, for good. And by the summer of 1893 he was corresponding with men in America to find a successor. He especially approached his good friend, Rev. E. F. Williams, of Chicago. The 1893-95 Depression was on. This would retard the Church canvass tremen-

dously and lessen the influx of students to Berlin. Rev. Williams answered by giving details about the monetary conditions of the country, the large bank failures; but he could not then say whether he would be able to accept. His thoughts were so often over in Germany with the American Church. He also had interesting work, being editor of the "Congregationalist."

On December 4, 1893, Stuckenberg submitted his resignation. It was to take effect September 1, 1894. We give it in full:

To the Committee of the American Church.

Dear Brethren,

For a long time my mind has been seriously occupied with the question of resigning my position as pastor of the church. The subject has been weighed earnestly and prayerfully, and the decision reached is the result of the most conscientious deliberation. According to this decision I now place my resignation into your hands. My reasons for this step are as follows:

1. When more than thirteen years ago I came to Berlin, it was my intention to remain abroad only two years. But soon after my arrival I was made chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Chapel and also chairman of the Pulpit Committee. The work seemed so urgent and so promising, and the call to its management so providential, that I could not decline the responsibility. The growth of the work was so great that a regular organization as a church was demanded. This was effected June 26, 1887, and my position as regular pastor dates from the first day of November of the same year. While the work both before and after the organization seemed so important that only imperative demands could justify a removal from it, yet that work constantly interfered with the purpose which brought me to Germany, namely to devote my life to a specialty. It is the desire to devote myself to this specialty, and to return to America after an absence so unexpectedly protracted, which impels me to offer my resignation. Various circumstances which seem imperative urge my speedy return to America.
2. The condition of the church encourages me to believe that the time for my resignation could not have been chosen more favorably. The organization is firmly established; the church is prosperous and the outlook hopeful; so far as I can learn there is perfect unanimity and hearty coöperation in the work; the difficulties connected with the beginning of the raising of funds to purchase a lot and erect a church edifice have been overcome

and some forty thousand dollars are in hand for this purpose and more is promised; and the interest in the enterprise is such that I do not doubt its complete success. Nor can it be questioned that the field is most inviting to an earnest pastor, so that a suitable successor can be found. Never before have the prospects of the church been more hopeful. While this makes it so hard to withdraw from the field, it also makes the time for the resignation most favorable.

3. In severing my relation as pastor, my interest in the cause and my labors in its behalf are not to end. The American church has so won our hearts that it will be a pleasure to Mrs. Stuckenberg and myself to further its welfare according to our ability wherever we may be. This church shall always have our best wishes, our most earnest prayers, and our heartiest efforts. I shall deem it a privilege to coöperate with the committee in securing a suitable successor.
4. I desire to be relieved as soon as a permanent pastor can be secured. Should there be any delay in this respect, then I request that the ultimate date when this resignation is to take effect be September first, 1894.

In presenting my resignation I want to thank heartily all who have at different times been on the committee and have sought the welfare of the church; also the resident members of the congregation and the thousands who have worshipped with us as sojourners, whose sympathy and coöperation have helped the cause. Whatever difficulties and sacrifices were involved in the peculiar and often trying situation of the church, they have been cause for gratitude rather than for sorrow. Whatever mistakes have been made, we can confidently rely on the mercy of that father who has so richly blessed the work, in whose name the enterprise was begun and continued, and in whose favor is the hope of future prosperity.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. W. STUCKENBERG.

Berlin, December 4, 1893.

In regard to his resignation the Church Committee recommended to the congregation for adoption, January 14, 1894, the following:

Whereas, at the meeting of the Church Committee, held December 4, 1893, the above resignation was read, received, and, in view of the Pastor's statement that his duty to the homeland and to himself makes his departure unavoidable, accepted by the said Committee; and,

Whereas, the Committee desires to recognize the degree of faithfulness which has marked the work of the Pastor Prof. Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, during thirteen years in which the American church in Berlin has, through his guidance under God, been formed, strengthened and developed into an organization which makes itself felt as a power for good throughout the American colony in Berlin and therefore throughout the world into which that colony sends its representatives; and

Whereas, the plan for a church edifice more nearly corresponding to the needs of the community has been so carefully and constantly kept in mind during this time, that a Building Fund now amounting to about forty thousand dollars has been accumulated almost wholly through the personal efforts of the Pastor and his wife, as an evidence of their unselfish interest in the work in Berlin; and

Whereas, in all the various lines of activity which under peculiar conditions and often peculiar difficulty, have projected from the American Church, as well in the cordiality and friendliness of the Sunday morning and evening services, as in the more intimate but less known personal ministrations to those in sorrow or otherwise in need of friendly counsel, the efforts of the Pastor have been seconded and supplemented with such constant devotion by his consecrated wife: be it

Resolved, that with this expression of cordial appreciation of the work which has been done, with sincere regret that circumstances have made the separation inevitable and with the heartfelt prayer that the blessing of God, even our Father may continue to rest upon the life and labor of Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg, filling their hearts with the joy of loving service, the resignation of the Pastor, Prof. Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, be accepted; and be it further

Resolved, that the said resignation take effect in accordance with the wish therein expressed, so soon as a successor may be chosen, and in any case not later than September first, 1894.

Signed by the Committee:

PROF. W. D. MILLER, M.D.	REV. S. F. VANCE
MR. W. M. GRISCOM	MR. J. W. PLATNER
COL. L. P. SIEBERT	DR. HUGH PITCAIRN
MR. JAMES G. STEVENS	MR. LAWRENCE L. DOGGETT
MR. E. L. PARSONS	REV. MR. SCHELL, member ex-officio
REV. ROBT. H. BEATTIE	HON. THEO. S. FAY, hon. member
PROF. H. C. KING	JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Secretary.

December 26, 1893.



Stuckenberg had contemplated resigning in 1890, but now his resignation was final. Dr. Sherman William Brown, Spencer, Mass., on receiving a copy of it, wrote:

"Your years of faithful service in Berlin certainly entitle you to a change, but it certainly will be unfortunate for the Berlin church. I shall always be better for the Christian strength and inspiration which I gained in Berlin from you and Mrs. Stuckenberg." Dr. Edward J. Hincks, Andover, wrote along the same line, but said: "I am glad that you are to return to this country. Broadly evangelical men of thorough culture were never more needed here than now." Fenelon B. Rice much deplored the leaving of the Stuckenbergs: "I have the feeling that if your life work were limited to the few years that you have ministered to the people in Berlin, it would still be a very complete life-work." A most kind note came from Major Friedrich Reinhold Munther. He was 80 years old, was a retired first class captain of the Royal Prussian Engineers, and had served in the Civil War. He attended for years Stuckenberg's morning services and evening meetings. He expressed his heartfelt thanks both to Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg, and gave them as farewell greetings Romans 12:21.

Countess Waldersee on a brief visit to Berlin from Altona, invited the Stuckenbergs as her guests Saturday, May 26, at Michael's Hospiz, where she was staying, to discuss plans that Mrs. Stuckenberg had written to her about.

In the meantime Stuckenberg was pursuing his work in the church with his usual zeal. He preached, counseled, visited the sick, and performed other duties connected with his ministry. He did not abandon his critical work in the libraries; he rather increased its pace, anxious to cover as much ground as possible before he returned to the United States. He found time, however, to "stand for" his picture, standing one hour at each visit. The weeks were passing along pleasantly, and summer came, this time for parting with his church, his friends, and his favored places in Berlin, including the Royal Library.

According to previous arrangements, Mrs. Stuckenberg was the first to leave for America. A note, dated July 20, which her husband sent her in care of the steamer said: "What a farewell. The number astonished me. . . . Your journey home ought to be a most precious memory."

Dean F. W. Farrar has said that a minister or public official is "public property." Stuckenberg was made to feel that. Mr. Will Manns, *Cincinnati*, had read in a Sunday paper what he called "a most malicious slander which for the sake of your friends, I hope that you will ask your Council to rectify through the same agent or agency. . . . I am too full of indignation to write more. Tell me if I can do anything."

The slander, which also was printed in an Erie paper, said, quoting a cablegram: "Recently Dr. Stuckenberg developed such a Social Democratic tendency and aired his political opinions to such an extent in his sermons that the congregation of the American Church complained. Thereupon Dr. Stuckenberg resigned and demanded a plebiscite. His resignation was accepted."

This was absolutely untrue.

Stuckenberg, accordingly, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*: "Dear Sir: The *Gazette* of June 24 contains as many errors as it does statements. I do not belong to the social democracy, but am its noncompromising opponent. Never have I introduced socialistic discussions in the pulpit. At my home I have discussed Socialism from a Christian standpoint. If that has aroused any opposition, I was never aware of the fact. I have never heard a word of complaint on the subject. I resigned because I was anxious to return to the United States after an absence of fourteen (not seventeen) years. If there was the slightest dissatisfaction, I certainly did not know it and am not aware of it now. Months before my resignation was presented, I corresponded with an American clergyman to become my successor; and weeks before my resignation came before the church, I urged the Executive Committee to consider his name. My resignation was uncon-

ditional and final. Numerous requests came for its withdrawal, one proposition being that I take a year's leave of absence and re-visit America. I declined and insisted on the acceptance of my resignation as I want to live in the States again. My purpose is to live in Boston, not in Ohio. I do not intend to abandon clerical labors, but expect to preach at times as well as to engage in literary labors.

"Dr. W. D. Miller, like myself an Ohio man, who presided at the meetings of the Committee which adopted the resolutions respecting my resignation, can confirm my statements. These resolutions were signed by every member of the Committee and were unanimously adopted by the church. They were very complimentary; but if your item is correct, then they were a tissue of hypocrisies. Your statements are really more damaging to the American church in Berlin than to me, and I shall be obliged if you will publish the above correction. Berlin, July 10, 1894."

There is nothing unusual about this matter-of-fact refutation. The Committee substantiated it by drawing up the following, which, signed by its members, was sent to the papers which were circulating the false statement:

BERLIN, July 26.—*To the Editor.*—The following paragraph has appeared in a number of American newspapers:

Recently Dr. Stuckenberg developed such a Social Democratic tendency and aired his political opinions to such an extent in the pulpit that the congregation of the American Church complained. Thereupon Dr. Stuckenberg resigned and demanded a plebiscite. To his surprise the resignation was accepted.

The committee of the American Church has read the above report with extreme surprise and regret and hereby wish to make it known that this report is as unjust as it is false. Dr. Stuckenberg has at no time developed Social Democratic tendencies nor aired his political opinions more than is becoming to a pastor. His resignation did not result from any complaint on the part of the congregation, it was accepted because it was final, and its acceptance was not a matter of surprise, but of gratitude to the pastor, who, as was known to one or two of his friends, has for years entertained the desire to return to his native country.

The committee and the congregation adopted resolutions recognizing the faithfulness, unselfish interest, cordiality, friendliness, and devotion of the pastor and Mrs. Stuckenberg, and expressing sincere regret that circumstances rendered a separation inevitable.

DR. W. D. MILLER, Chairman  
JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Secretary  
REV. S. F. VANCE  
J. W. PLATNER  
HENRY C. KING  
JAMES G. STEPHENS.

On a card, dated August 9, Stuckenberg mentions that "the opposition seems to have been very insignificant." He looked forward to meeting his wife, who had so faithfully toiled all these years for the upbuilding of the American Church and helped so many of its members and visitors to live beautiful lives. At the time she left, the report of the Treasurer was that the amount of the building fund was Mk. 173,893; reduced to dollars, amounting to \$43,000. The interest on this amounted to Mk. 4,163, or \$1,000. The real amount was larger, since the treasurers did not return some reports and money until later.

As stated before, what money came to the church later, was largely due to the initial canvass of Mrs. Stuckenberg, and to the many contacts she made.

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The last pages of Stuckenberg's Diary while still in Berlin read:

"1894, August, Sunday 27: Last sermon in the American Church, Berlin. Schönweide people out in force—presentation of beautiful album as a memento of my kindness to the English colony. Farewell visits this afternoon to Dr. and Mrs. Watson, Grunewald Colony; Mr. and Mrs. Stevens, Sanct Hubertus; and Dr. and Mrs. Miller.

"Monday, 27: Twenty marks to employees in Reading Room of Royal Library.

"Tuesday, 28: Farewell to the Royal Library. How hard to leave it! What has it been to me the last 14 years. The last look full of sadness at parting.



"Wednesday, 29: Left Lehrter Bahnhof 9 A. M. Dr. Weber (and many more) . . . came to see me off. Sad parting, heart full to overflowing. Streits Hotel, Hamburg. Attended to baggage for steamer, and walked about the streets.

"Thursday, 30: Off at 9 A. M. for Cuxhaven. Steamer Columbia. . . ."

His Berlin Pastorate of fourteen years had come to a close.

§ 6. The Age and the Church (1893)

Three years before leaving Berlin, Stuckenberg submitted a manuscript to Funk & Wagnalls for publication. The reader of manuscripts for this firm, Mr. Newell Woolsey Wells, gave this estimate: "'The Age and the Church' is a most able production. It reveals a wide acquaintance with social conditions and a power of generalization which is far beyond ordinary. It is scholarly in conception, in analysis and in style, and is also a timely contribution to the literature of a most living issue. The work can hardly be called a popular one in the treatment of the theme, but it is one that will command the thoughtful interest of scholars everywhere.

"It has a certain fascination that makes one regret the necessity of laying it aside, even temporarily, and also a convincing logic that renders it a pleasure to yield to its conclusions."

The book (pp. 360) was published by The Student Publishing Company, Hartford, Conn., in 1893. It presents in a fascinating manner the spirit of the Age, giving far more than the title suggests.

Passing by the Introductory chapter, "Principles of Investigation," we are confronted with two chapters, "Characteristics of the Age." The age, we read, is stirring, with vastly multiplied schools and compulsory education, with its millions of newspapers, with space and time annihilating means of communication and transportation, with city sameness in fashions, manners, speech that have

urbanized the country, suppressing its folk lore and banishing its troubadours. The age is one of readers, not thinkers; of facts, not ideas; of vulgar gossip minimizing the differences between men, heredity and mentality. It abounds in third rate scientists, suspicious of philosophy and lacking in critical thinking; it studies man like a brute and explains religion and ethics as the necessary workings of the force of nature. For punishment of crime, it substitutes medicine and institutions for feeble minded. Vast majorities now scarcely reveal a trace of ethical purpose. Socialism worships the earth, lays emphasis on the gratification of appetite, is crude and dull in its entertainments, gloats over the sensational newspaper full of abominable details. Of sciences, natural science has placed itself on the throne; it analyzes and atomizes, but does not synthesize; and it inflicts its methods upon all fields of knowledge. Research, and not creation holds the attention of scholars. Critics find delight in analyzing coarseness in life. Personality is thrust aside for mechanical force.

Chapter IV states that church attendance is at a minimum. Only 2% of the people in the state church attend. Religion is regarded as weak, reason has become the test of it. Yet haughty intellectuality has been humbled in theology, which substituted dogmas for doctrine, doctrine for faith, creed for piety. The age, however, is far more religious than dogmatic, it has learned to place more emphasis on love.

Chapter V deals with the visible church. Stuckenberg here overlooks that the church is a *Geistgrösse*, something entirely qualitative, invisible (not demonstrable) to reason. Yet he properly says, the fault of the visible church is its tendency to dwell on success. Johannes Janssen's criticism of it, based on Ultramontanism, goes too far. Yet, the Reformers "are too much idolized." Theological instruction in Germany is highly and rightly lauded. England's weak theological thinking is reflected in its admiration for Mrs. Ward's book, "Robert Elsmere." The rightful place of denominations is granted: differences belong to Christian

liberty and Christian personality, if the fundamentals are accepted. The intolerance of German ministers against Methodists, Baptists, United Brethren, is justly criticised—where millions attend no church, there is room for the “sects”—but also men of the cloth boasting of apostolic succession, but purchasing their sermons, are scorned. Stuckenberg desires unity of the church. John 17, he says, is a prayer for unity, which though accomplished by Christ, needs “visible manifestation”—through organization. Co-operative unity is needed. Its creed can be simple and be easily found. Yet the church universal is not dependent even on simple creed. Stuckenberg here again makes the “visible church” a part of the Kingdom of God, a part of the real Church, which thus becomes quantitative instead of qualitative. He calls for a coöperative union to enlarge this quantity, making Bismarck’s reproach cease that the Catholics are black internationals and the Socialists red internationals.

The distraction of Protestantism makes it impossible to conceive its divided churches as the Kingdom of God, says Stuckenberg. The Catholics deserve credit for retaining the idea of the Kingdom of God, but wrongly appropriate it to themselves. Ritschl’s idea of the Kingdom resurrects an important idea, long ignored.

Stuckenberg here overlooks that the Protestant Church is no more Kingdom of God than is the Catholic, and that Ritschl’s ethicizing “Church” is not the Kingdom. For none of the three forms is according to Luther—and Stuckenberg wanted to be a consistent Lutheran—a part or the whole of the Kingdom, or of the universal church, which two are identical. He points to the grand work of Inner Missions as not being done by any organized Church, but yet being a work of the Kingdom.

We grant to Stuckenberg that the work done by the one visible agency is as sacred as what is done by the other, in this connection. But none of these agencies is a *Darstellung* of the body of Christ, or the Kingdom, or the Church of the third article, which is something qualitative, namely

God's life with man. A believer is member of the Kingdom of God. He has God's will working in his heart. His membership in a visible organization as church is merely of human and not of divine order.

Stuckenberg rightly objects to the conception which confines the Kingdom to the organized Church. He comes closer to the truth when he says that the Kingdom is the whole sphere of God's operations on earth. (Why not also beyond?) through Christ. He comes closer to the truth when he asserts that, in point of influence, the Kingdom of God includes all who experience the effects of the Gospel. But then he adds that all that prepares for Christian truth is *related* to this kingdom: Plato, Moses have significance for it. They are schoolmasters unto Christ.

This latter idea anticipates Söderblom's and Bohlin's view of the prophets among leading ancient nations, men that flash divine knowledge, not arrived at through the use of reason, in certain situations. Thus, many nations—not only the Jews—have had schoolmasters unto Christ. But somehow all these religions, we wish to add, are egocentric, centering about the ego which wishes to save itself, and acts for this purpose through *sacrifice*, or *obedience to the law*, or the *humbling* of one's self. Anders Nygren in *Eros and Agape* finds but little in the Old Testament that does not indicate *man's* way to God. The religion, or the life that Christ gives, is theocentric: *God's* way to man, a way of *grace*. It is, as Nietzsche says, a revaluation of all accepted religious values of antiquity. Plato, indeed, taught that man should suffer rather than do evil. This sounds Christianlike, but Plato meant it in the sense of human selfassertion, which we would call an egocentric act, but which he could not understand, not knowing the unmotivated self-sacrificial attitude of a true Christian. What "relation" can there then be to the Kingdom except that of all noble organizations and deeds, whatever their name be, which serve the Kingdom *indirectly*, but which also can be made an agency of the Evil—as the Bible can become a fetish or a guide; a steamship, a messenger of missionary love or conveyer of slaves!



Stuckenberg asserts that the Kingdom of God is truth; Christ came to bear witness to truth. We say yes; but *religious* truth. The fact that two and two make four in the physical world, but perhaps four plus in the spiritual-intellectual (Wundt's "creative synthesis"); that light travels at a certain unchanging speed; and that the sum of the angles of a triangle is two right angles on a level surface and from two to six on spherical surface—is rational truth the *source* of which is not revelation by Christ, but reason.

When, therefore, our book maintains that "nothing truly is foreign to the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom has room for music and art, as well as for science and poetry—we can accept this if we say that the Kingdom, other things being equal, is not antagonistic to these things. It can even be *indirectly* served by them. But they can also serve what is hostile to the Kingdom. A house may serve as a "temple", but also as a den of thieves; it can protect both. Music may furnish chorals and hymns, but also debasing entertainment. All technique is unmoral, but can be made to serve the immoral as well as the moral. It depends on the spirit behind the technique; and technique as we know it used is not more related to the Kingdom of God than to the kingdom of evil.

We stress this, less for the purpose of correcting Stuckenberg according to Luther than to show that already then he busied himself with today's outstanding theme in theology in Germany: *Schöpfungsordnung*, or *die Theologie der Ordnungen*.

Stuckenberg justifiably asks why worship in church is called divine service, while study, profession, business, recreation, the joys of a Christian are excluded from divine service. Here he assumes the standpoint of Luther: There is no religion except in man, in his heart. All worship and doing *is* but an expression of his religion. (He might better have said: *can be*.) He also shows that the mysterious sanctity conferred by office or by peculiar ceremonies has lost its influence, and he appreciates this. In

this chapter, too, he has done some anticipating—stressing problems later worked out by Einar Billing in the ethics of vocation. (See Billing's, *Unser Beruf*, 1928.)

Chapter VI treats of the adaptation of the Church to the Times. It brings out that faith is found only in personality, not in things or institutions. Even Scripture has only the symbols of truth, and is often made a fetish. Man must become the truth whose symbols are found in the Bible. There is, for example, no way of sanctifying the Sabbath but by sanctifying man. Stuckenberg disapproves of St. Paul Cathedral's going in for reconsecration after a suicide. *Things* are not holy. Christ established no church, no particular institution, drew up no form of government. The Kingdom of God is a kingdom of persons (Luther said: of God's life in persons). Stuckenberg stresses Christian personality: it is the light, salt, and leaven of the world. Lay activity, he adds, must be developed. Each congregation should be a working unit. It might be well to divide the world up into parishes, to get more effective work.

Chapter VII is an indictment of Catholicism. Stuckenberg said he had once thought that Catholicism could undergo a transformation in America. Learning its real power in Europe, he had to change his mind: This Church can not be modified. Against Rome, he stresses personality.

He was not aware that a Barthian school was later to arise with its criticism of personality, and that W. de Boor, in Bern, would teach that personality is a neutral term, a *means*, but not an *end*; and that this concept is typically modern. The men of the Bible, says de Boor, paid no attention to themselves, as far as personality was concerned, and therefore they were truly persons of great power.

Chapter VIII considers Church and Culture. The united culture of the Middle Ages has passed away, and the Church is no longer its guardian. There is hostility to the Church, but it need not imply hostility to religion. The Church, again, often sneers at science. And much of the science taught can look for little respect, being a conglomeration of philosophic speculation, devoid of anything

scientific. Atoms, ether, matter are mere *postulates*. To the claim that Dr. Newton needed imagination as much as Shakespeare did, Stuckenberg answers that Newton did not construct his science by means of his imagination. Science has been put in a false light. Jean Paul is quoted with approval: Formerly, prejudice regarded every thinker as an atheist, now every atheist is regarded as a thinker. Mere accomplishment is taken for scholarship. Even diletantism in music is, unfortunately, called education. Christ's religion is superior to all other religions. But theology must be regarded as human and transient; it must receive more philosophy. And culture must cease to regard God as nature, and objects of faith as if they were objects of natural science.

Chapter IX, "Church and Socialism", is the strongest in the book. Sociology interprets society; Socialism aims at the transformation of society. The Socialists in Germany are largely atheistic, but they want equality. Stuckenberg then argues, if all are equal before God, why should not equality reign on earth, instead of a diabolical, selfish spirit, instead of social drones. Socialism, if not successful, may prove the worst of social fiends. The earlier Socialists were under Christian influence, the newer generation is under materialistic teaching. Socialism is tentative, not ultimate. The Church must meet it "using the love of Christ, but in new adaptation."

He finds, however, that the Church is too poorly organized. He renews the claim that the "Church" is a "human and divine institution." It must therefore do work within its own borders; 1) examine itself; 2) study Socialism impartially; 3) find the sociological elements in the New Testament (there are none, says Rudolph Sohm); 4) the "socialistic" Epistle of James must be preached and practised; 5) the Church must stand for Christian realism; 6) the Church must assume new attitude to labor; 7) better seminaries are required; 8) the poor and rich must associate with each other in the churches; 9) scholarship need to be ethicized. It is hinted that society furnishes

the thieves; scholarship is the Levite; wealth is the priest; the bleeding man is still waiting for the Good Samaritan; 10) Drastic means are needed to overcome suffering, the ax must be laid at the root of class distinctions which kill brotherly love.

It will be readily granted that this tabulation of requirements is not extreme, and that they can largely apply to the visible, organized Church, but also to many other agencies and institutions as well, since it and they are "Welt." To say that the Church is a "human and a divine institution" is in keeping with traditional dogmatics. But the Church of the third article of the Apostles' Creed, is not an institution. It is man's life with God. *This Church is divine*; the visible church is human. An *institution* may exist by law, without life: even without Board members and without inmates or beneficiaries. The spiritual church does not exist by law. As to a human organization called church, it may be an institution; but it is not divine, and is no part of the universal Church, the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus Luther.

Chapter X, Outlook: Personal work is peculiarly in demand to meet the crisis. Aside from persons, the Church, as Stuckenberg conceives it, can do nothing. Individualism exists for society, and Socialism for the individual. The Church needs not only the sermon, but church history, lectures, books, etc. Hase's word is again quoted that church history will some day become a cultural science. Personality must step in, and personality is the sum of ideas in man. The man in whom the ideas of the age have become personal, is the most complete expression of his age, be he artist, poet, philosopher, theologian. Thus Stuckenberg again points to a leading thought of Luther and Ranke: There are a few great leaders, and many followers. Without the latter, the former cannot accomplish much.

Chapter XI. Appendix: Christianity must be applied to the changing demands of the age. The solution of all problems is not found in the Bible. Thus, organizations may change. Stuckenberg stresses history as the study



of the age in continuity with the past in order to understand it. Ranke has shown the way, going beyond national histories and looking for a broader unity. Especially philosophy and general literature must be studied.

After all, history holds for Stuckenberg the key to the understanding of the age, as it did for Ranke and his pupils Waitz and Giesebrecht; and, we may add, for Ranke's greatest pupil, Albert Hauck, as also for Adolf Harnack, the two greatest church historians of modern times. History experienced a set-back after the Great War. But it is in full swing again today, with or without value judgment. Weber wants it mere descriptive; Nygren, characterizing; Spranger demands that historical evaluation must be added.

On the whole, with the reservations made above, as to the evaluation conforming somewhat with Spranger's methodical demands,—Stuckenberg's *The Age and the Church* was, and still is, a very creditable achievement.

Discriminating, gratifying reviews appeared in; 1) what seems to have been an Episcopal paper, sent to Stuckenberg by Dr. P. Schaff; 2) the *Examiner*, New York, July 20, 1893—under "Half-Hours with the Best Books"; 3) the *Outlook*, June 3, 1894. The *Lutheran Observer*, April 23, 1893, drew the inference: "Every minister of the Church should be a Christian Socialist by endeavoring to make the Gospel and all other ministrations of the Church a practical alleviator of the burdens of mankind." President George A. Gates, of Iowa College, Grinnell, regarded the volume as "a most helpful, strong and vigorous book."

#### § 7. Callers and Guests at Stuckenberg's Home in Berlin

To classify all those who crossed the threshold of Stuckenberg's home in Berlin would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. There were those who came to make social calls; those who came as guests to the Sunday evening meetings; those who came for counsel and advice, or for aid and comfort in distress. There were some that combined all of these purposes. Abundant evidence is offered elsewhere in this book as to the frequency and variety of

the calls made at the Stuckenberg home in the German capital. The door swung open for all: for members of the American legation, high standing officers in the German army, titled nobility, Court preachers, deaconesses, physicians, college and theological professors, ministers of the Gospel, artists, students, in fact people of all walks of life. The clown, the tramp, the alleged heir of an estate promptly touched the door string with the same grace as the rest, and politely made their errands known in polite language.

As far as students are concerned, the annual matriculation of American students at the University of Berlin would indicate fairly well the number of students who called at the Stuckenbergs, including not a few from Great Britain, Japan, and the Scandinavian countries. The lists in the Stuckenberg manuscripts are far from complete, but would, if printed, claim a good part of the space of this book. Therefore, in order to save space, comparatively few names have been selected for this work to indicate the general types and classes.

The winter of 1883-84 presents on one list 115 names. Of these mention may be made of A. A. Sargent, United States Minister; Professor Wm. L. Pearson; A. L. Griscom; Dr. Willoughby Miller; Dr. Alonzo H. Sylvester; Ella Schlutis, sister-in-law of Herr Marcard; Miss E. M. Buckland, from New Zealand; Mrs. J. C. Hepburn, from Japan; Mrs. C. B. Robinson, from Hawaiian Islands; Miss Kate A. Jackson, Evanston, Ill.; Miss Marie Baramy, Vienna; Rev. Robert B. Earle, English Chaplain; Prof. Marcus D. Buell, Boston University; Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Wheeler—he became president of California University in 1899; G. Harrison Smith, Deputy Consul General; Mark S. Brewer, United States Consul General; Mrs. George Palmer Davies; James B. Reynolds; Magnus von Bagge, a Norwegian artist, with whom the Stuckenbergs associated much; O. von Barchwitz-Krause, Valparaiso, Chili; President W. A. P. Martin, Peking; Peter E. Easton, Persia; Marie Wurm, Prague; G. A. Bienemann, Oriel College, Oxford.

Among the cards from 1885—about 100—are those of Ernest Flagg Henderson, author; Dr. Melanchthon W. Jacobus; Charles C. Bragdon; Dr. and Mrs. David J. Hill; Mrs. Pendleton; Dr. Pirie, Dundee; Mrs. Arthur C. McGiffert and daughter; Dr. Philip Schaff; O. J. Thatcher; A. K. Mayeda; Mr. James Watt; J. W. Hough.

The "Sunday Evening at Home", October 31, 1886, presents a long list of guests: Mrs. Fessenden and son, Boston; Mr. MacEwen and Mr. Collett, both of London; William Lowe Bryan; Ethelbert Nevins; Mr. and Mrs. Victor Lawson; Fernando Sanford, graduate of Carthage College, and a physicist who studied with Helmholtz; Mr. Dawson, of England; Dr. Owen Hamilton Gates; Mrs. Smith Norton, cousin of Frances Willard; Mrs. and Miss Wagnalls, New York; Miss Ames, from Wellesly College; Mrs. Raymond Seeley.

On a couple of Sunday evenings in 1887, guests are present from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois, Washington (D. C.), Kansas, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, New York, Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, Ireland, Italy, England, Scotland, France, Wales.

In 1888-89, such names occur as Dr. Theodore McGraw; Mrs. Klindworth; Miss Comann, of Wellesly College; Dr. F. A. Ray; Dr. W. W. Grant, Surgeon U. S. Army; Mr. Weyerhauser, of Rock Island; John D. Ford, of Philadelphia; Professor Karl P. Harrington; Rev. P. Schley Schaff; Count Andreas Bernstorff; E. J. Blatchford.

Christmas Eve, 1889, had thirty-three guests, the first name on the list being that of Mr. Skørdalsvold, of Minneapolis.

The New Year calls for 1890 are many, 158 names being recorded. It suffices to mention three of these new year callers who were especially distinguished for their generosity. Mr. and Mrs. Walter Phelps came twice. Phelps was a wealthy man; he left from time to time sums of money with Stuckenberg to give to callers in need. Madame de Wesselitzky was an American lady, a noble character, married to a Serbian. She was known for the exquisite



hospitality of her home. She often invited poor people to dine with her, just as she would have done with her distinguished guests.

In 1890 Miss Gertrude Gingrich, a sister of Mrs. Stuckenberg arrived at Berlin. She spent the period between August, 1890 and April, 1893 in Berlin and traveled in Europe, Egypt, Palestine with a family as governess. She later became Professor of German in Wooster, Ohio. She was frequently at her sister's home, now and then helping with the records. In her handwriting are written the names of many visitors, only a few of which shall be mentioned here: Konsistorialrath Dr. Hermann Dalton; Baron von Kurowsky; Count Alfred Waldersee, General of the Cavalry; Major Wachs. A few days later Mrs. Stuckenberg registers a new visit of Count and Countess Waldersee, and enters the name of Governor John Pillsbury (Minnesota); Mrs. W. J. Dyer and Mrs. H. Severance, both of St. Paul; Mrs. Richard Olney; Mrs. M. Idvorsky Pupin, of New York; Consul L. Austin Spalding, Brunswick; Professor James H. Tufts; James Henry Breasted; Dr. Jean Du Buy, the philosopher; Rev. Henry A. Todd, Taizo Miyoshi, Judge of the Supreme Court, Tokio; Professor M. Idvorsky Pupin; *Architekt* Schwarzkopf; Philip v. Nathusius; Mrs. Thomas L. Cushman; Dr. Carolyn C. Ladd, of Bryn Mawr College; Miss Alice Grand Moen; Shailer Matthews; Mr. E. A. Ross; Frau Henriette Schrader; A. F. Logan; Mr. W. H. Dawson; Westel W. Willoughby; Wm. T. Durand, of Cornell University; Caspar Rene Gregory; Mr. A. E. Eleason and Otto Andersen, Minneapolis; Charles A. Briggs; Olaf Solberg, St. Paul; Mr. Julian Wadsworth, Rock Island.

These names are mostly all from the period previous to 1890. They are selected at random and roughly represent but a small percentage of the groups in question.

One list is made up of 150 names of professors, mostly Americans, who called at the Stuckenbergs. Then, there are special lists of ministers, physicians, married and unmarried ladies. All this goes to show that the home of the



pastor was much visited and had many distinguished callers or guests.

The Stuckenberg name was known far and wide, both in the English and the German-speaking world, though naturally more so in the former, since Stuckenberg, with all his sociability, was reserved. He made no effort to introduce himself to strangers. German friends noticed that he did not avail himself of many opportunities sociably extended. His wife, however, was gracious in this respect. She was the one that radiated charming hospitality which Stuckenberg fully and gratefully appreciated. However, he felt that his time was limited. He had many irons in the fire; for that reason he often had to decline invitations to write for papers, as he also declined with scorn the approach of a foreign agent and correspondent, a Mr. H., to inform him about Berlin affairs. No other work of his, however, brought him so many tokens of gratitude as his editorial work for the *Homiletic Review*, from scholars, thinkers in all English speaking countries.

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## CHAPTER XVIII

### In Cambridge, Massachusetts

(1895-1903)

- § 1. The Boston Public Library—New Acquaintances—Papers for Which He Wrote—Attempted Synthesis of Culture and Christianity—Lectures at Colleges—Echoes from Wittenberg—Synodical Behavior—Crisis at Gettysburg—Books: Trends in German Thought; New Edition of the History of the Augsburg Confession—Mrs. Stuckenberg and the W. C. T. U.

BY SEPTEMBER 21, 1894, the Stuckenbergs had been in Newton, near Boston, for two weeks, with friends. Through their stay in Berlin they had made so many friends in and near Boston that they had invitations for months ahead. So many of these had been aided by Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg abroad. Within a very short time Stuckenberg bought a house at 17 Arlington, North Cambridge, Mass., the only house he ever owned. It became his permanent home. After discharging his routine duties in connection with moving and his own special task of unpacking a large number of cases of books, he resumed his former manners of life: working at his desk and in the Boston Public Library. He felt it his duty to dedicate himself entirely to study and writing. He had longed for this kind of life in later years in Berlin. He had now no church to take care of and could adjust his labors as he pleased. But he often preached on Sundays in and around Boston, and made extended lecture tours when time would permit him.

It was really the Boston Public Library that was decisive in his choice of Boston as a place of residence, though he had considered both Washington and Philadelphia. He was soon as much at home in this library as he was in his

own, often spending eight hours a day within its walls. After some years he was admitted to a special privilege in a room upstairs, where he had a great table at his disposal and where he could write undisturbed and have the unrestricted use of the stack of books accumulated about him. From here he could speedily secure as many books and pamphlets as he wished. Interruptions were rare. It was seldom that a chance visitor would enter there.

Man liveth not by books alone. But the Library plays such an important part in every scholar's life, and did it especially in the life of Stuckenberg, that it here deserves particular mention. In the Boston Public Library he would generally work from the opening, at nine, until noon. He would then proceed to a rear restaurant for a luncheon. Before returning he liked to spend a little time in the Public Gardens, not far away. On coming back, he glanced over the newspapers, first foreign, then domestic, in the well-furnished Newspaper Room; then he would go to the Journal Room, note the table of contents of magazines and reviews that interested him, after which he would return to work on his manuscript. Getting wearied, near five, he would once more visit the Journal Room, to read such portions of articles as had previously attracted his notice. For years he practiced reading certain books and articles "diagonally"; he had acquired the art of swiftly discovering what could be of use to him, resisting further explorations. For desultory reading he no longer found time.

In books he conversed or communed with friends living and dead. The books were to him grand documents and massive monuments of testimony. But he was not a book worm. Throbbing life was rich for him. He had to fellowship with others, to give and receive, to transmit facts and interpret objectively, but not in such a way that sociability suffered. There was a wholesome variety of life that he enjoyed in Boston. The Library building contained notable mural paintings, many visitors came to see them, and he was liable most any day to run across former friends and acquaintances from the Berlin period as well as others. He

came into close contact with the officials in the Library who were specialists, and with two or three fellow authors at work in his own room. He associated also a little with the Library policeman, Mr. Mather, a lineal descendant of Cotton Mather. Boston from the point of view of Mather's penetrating intelligence could be a subject of much amusement and interest. Many a time Stuckenberg brought home comments from Mr. Mather. He and his wife once spent an interesting evening at the latter's apartment, following his invitation to meet "my literary friends."

Stuckenberg, however, did not respond much to the hospitable intentions of Cambridge and Boston men, as if some forefeeling had warned him that his days were henceforth shortnumbered. He accepted no membership to clubs, inviting as some of them would have been to him but for his prepossession with the subjects of his investigation. In Cambridge he had interesting neighbors, such as Mr. George P. Morris, then engaged as one of the editors of the *Congregationalist*, later editor of the *Boston Herald*; Dr. Hall, pastor of the Universalist Church; Rev. Evans of the Congregational Church, with whom he had much in common; Professor Jerome Johnson of Harvard; and his next door neighbors, Mr. Walter Hallis and Mr. Rowe Webster, in fact all members of the Webster family; Mr. Frank Tonicraft; and though last, not least, Mrs. Josephine Preston Peabody with her mother and sister; and a beloved German family, the Carstens, who often dropped in. Mrs. Peabody was an intimate friend of Mrs. Stuckenberg; and Mr. George Morris regarded Stuckenberg as at his intellectual best in casual conversations and was his most frequent visitor.

As it chanced, Stuckenberg's visitors were now mostly young people, and among them a marked sprinkling of teachers in Boston schools and musicians, especially Alfred Denghausen, the singer. Early in his Cambridge period a group of German students at Harvard, the son of Carl Schurz among the number, besought him to join a German organization of theirs. This he reluctantly felt obliged to



decline. He was also urged to institute such Sunday evenings as he had held in Berlin; but out of regard for the evening services of the local churches, he hesitated to undertake them. Among his most appreciated friends were gifted women, but his attractive power over young men seemed to increase to the last.

The owners of the *Homiletic Review* re-engaged him to write, now as editor of the *Department of Sociology*, holding this position till his death. He accepted an offer to write for the Irving Syndicate, whose articles were being published in 16 religious newspapers. Many articles of his appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, some in the *Advance*, the *Voice*, New York, the *Christian Advocate*. They would deal with political, economic, and sociological subjects, dwelling much on labor and capital, labor legislation, monetary matters, temperance and the liquor question, and international relations. They were copious in their references to Germany—he knew this country, its people and literature so well. His admiration for Germany never ceased; and he was tireless in his work to promote good relations between that country and ours. This is brought out very markedly in his article *Prince Henry's Visit: What It Signifies*, written for "Leslies Weekly," February 27, 1902, at the editor's request. He kept up his communications with the *Lutheran Observer* and the *Lutheran Evangelist*, showing a wonderful alertness and sweep of mind, circumspectly observing, quick in reacting; calmness, toleration—and freedom from guile and flatter. These qualities are also noticeable in his large correspondence. Truth radiated from his pages, yet with kindness. And to the last, he was trying to bridge *sociology with religion*, as is shown, outside of his books—and he wrote five of them in Cambridge—, in his article *Sociology and Religion*, in the "Christian Advocate," September, 1902.

And be it here said—what more appropriately could come at the close of this book—that he was a Lutheran Pietist. That means he had much room for the Puritan in his heart—with this difference that he did not at all look

askance upon culture. On the contrary, he drank it in with eyes and heart. He was not *Kulturfeindlich*. Nor did he go to the other extreme, of *Protestantische Kulturseligkeit*. He was, and worked as, a Christian, to whom nothing noble was alien. Christianity was his slogan for everything. He desired a synthesis between culture and Christianity—a synthesis of some kind. What kind of synthesis, he was not able to tell. The proper distinguishing adjective had not yet been found.

Professor Anders Nygren, of the University of Lund, clearer than anybody else, has pointed to the two kinds of synthesis that religion and culture can form. The first he calls culture-synthesis. For long distances religion and culture can walk together, but they are two entities. The other synthesis is religious, where religion and culture mix, are fused into one. The latter he rejects. For example, he rejects both Greek and German Idealism, which find in man himself the forces that can lift him up to God and immortality: man somehow saves himself. And yet Dr. Nygren, standing for unadulterated Christianity, says (1937) that if much of the world's culture were to perish, he would like to save several complexes: 1) the books of the Bible, 2) Plato, 3) Augustine-Thomas Aquinas, 4) Luther, 5) Shakespeare-Goethe, 6) Kant-German Idealism. These are complexes that form a *cultural* synthesis with Christianity. But Christianity is not man-made.

Had Stuckenberg lived in our day with its intense discussion of *Ordnungstheologie*, he likely would have affirmed the stand of Nygren. As it is, he stands closer to him than to the advocates of the religious synthesis. This to his credit, since he was not a passive observer who was watching a struggle in coolness or applauding without lending a hand. He entered the struggle.

But he had not come over to the view of a Rudolph Sohm, his contemporary; or to Nygren, a mere lad when Stuckenberg closed his eyes. In the church controversy, Stuckenberg was not intelligently attacked for his views on the relation of sociology and religion. In fact, this attack

hardly played any role. For those who attacked were in darkness, where Stuckenberg at least saw the dawning day. They simply said: The business of the organized church—is to preach the Gospel, administer the Sacraments and minister soul cure. Stuckenberg said: It was more. And here he was right. The *organized* church can cover vast fields of sociological work; for it is “world”, and quite as necessary as food and drink. But the Kingdom consisteth not in meat and drink, or in sociological effort. And as to preaching the Gospel, administering the Sacraments, ministering “soul cure”, it is the spiritual Church, the Church of the third article elevated above all earthly forms that does that. No local church, or synod, or minister has religious jurisdiction over the Gospel, or the Sacraments, or the cure of souls. The Church of the third article has. That the preaching of the Gospel and ministering of Sacraments have been given to local congregations as a right, is a confessional fiction, entirely foreign to the Book of Concord. This fiction tries to save its face by appealing to the universal priesthood of believers, as *organized* into congregations.

We meet no intelligent approach in the attacks made on Stuckenberg’s synthesis. He was here more in the right than were his opponents. The attacks were chiefly directed against his denial that Luther wrote the Augsburg Confession and that all its articles were religiously binding, or against his failure to appreciate all the symbols in the Book of Concord or the Liturgy of the sixteenth century (theological evaluations). He was therefore sub-Lutheran in his thinking, was their conclusion and condemnation. There was, however, no valid reason for criticizing him in the latter matters. There was some reason for criticizing him in the former, but the criticisms shot amiss.

He began a series of lectures at Wittenberg College in November, 1894. They were on the social problem, and were regarded as a great success, he wrote, November 12, from Cincinnati. But he had to notice that “Dr. Gotwald did not appear at a single lecture.” He preached, besides, in the First Lutheran Church, a sermon that he thought



"one of the most successful in my life." The citizens of Springfield adopted a resolution of thanks, offered by Rev. S. Dunlap, to Stuckenberg and the Wittenberg Board for making the lectures possible.

On November 14 and 15 he spoke at Oberlin before the "Institute of Christian Sociology," stressing Dr. Bastian's observation that in highly developed society environment bends before personality, and that as civilization advances, the individual will become more and more the controlling factor. He referred to "the great contributions made to the subject of Socialism by the theological professors of Germany, notably in the sociological congresses. To these congresses came also political economists, statesmen, students of ethics and historians. The *Oberlin Review* (pp. 131 seq., 1894) reporting the speech in substance, relates that Washington Gladden was made President of the Institute. Several vice presidents were elected: Jas. Fairchild, C. F. Thwing, Stuckenberg, Lucien C. Warner, and Graham Taylor.

In January, 1895, he delivered a series of lectures in the Y. M. C. A. in Boston. They were reported at length in the Boston dailies. The *Daily Advertiser*, January 28, praising the lectures in high terms, added a personal word about the lecturer's possession of "that most attractive and somewhat rare combination, a cool brain and a warm heart." His themes were: *What is the Social Problem? The Cause of the Social Problem; The Conditions for the Solution of the Problem; Solution by Revolution, Anarchism, Communism, the Social Democracy, Evolution; The Function of the State in the Solution.*

The same lectures were delivered, April 15-19, in the First Lutheran Church, Dayton, Ohio, and reported by the *Evening News* and the *Religious Telescope*.

The week following he gave again a series of addresses at Springfield, Ohio, before the students and in the Black Opera House. The *Springfield Republic-Times* and the German paper, the *Springfield Adler*, reported them. The Springfield pastors A. H. Lucas, of High St. M. E. church;



Geo. H. Fullerton, of Third Presbyterian Church; Samuel P. Dunlap of the First Congregational; C. W. Rishell, of Central M. E. Church, and professor-elect to the chair of History in Boston Theological Seminary; R. H. Hume, of United Presbyterian; E. P. Thompson, of Second Presbyterian; Leander S. Keyser, Editor of the *Lutheran Evangelist*, Dayton—all gave him their personal endorsements in print. Rev. Keyser said: "No man in America has given it (the subject) more painstaking thought and research."

In July, he delivered an address at the "International Convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor." Francis Clark expressed his gratitude by letter for the address which was published in full in the "Official Report of the Fourteenth International Convention" (314-316). It was about this time that he also spoke on *Young Lutherans and the Social Problem*, at the Lutheran Rally, under auspices of the "National Lutheran Christian Endeavor Union," in Marks Lutheran Church, Boston-Dorchester.

A number of students of Boston University heard his lectures at Shawmuth church and other places and sent him through Miss Lucy W. Warren an invitation to speak to their Missionary Society.

Miss Frances Willard asked him for articles for *Union Signal*, and printed an interview with him on *The Woman Movement in Germany* (February 7, 1895). It mentioned Professor Bertram of Germany who had come to examine our school system and his enthusiasm for what the United States was doing for woman's education. Bertram had been encouraged by Stuckenberg when in Berlin to perform this mission and had expressed to him his great satisfaction at what he had seen of the American way of educating women.

In April, 1895, as has been mentioned before, the University of Ann Arbor was again looking for a professor of Philosophy. Dr. A. Winchell was once more interested in having Stuckenberg elected Professor, and so was Dr. A. C. Armstrong, who declined the position himself, but recommended Stuckenberg. "You, who are fitted by long ex-

perience, wide reading . . . could hardly find, in my judgment, a more congenial and fruitful field of labor." However, Stuckenberg did not come to Ann Arbor. A chief reason may have been—what has been referred to—that he was over 60.

In the middle of September he attended the convention of the General Synod, at Pottsville, Pa. He was welcomed by a number of old friends and made new acquaintances. He preached Sunday morning in the First Presbyterian Church. He was invited to Reading, but had to decline on account of other arrangements.

The church controversy had abated some. Dr. Leander Keyser commented in a letter, September 30, 1895, to Stuckenberg: "You grasp the situation most thoroughly. I am glad that you and Drs. Valentine and Richard are so hopeful. . . . Dr. Freas and Remensnyder have really criticised the fundamental principles. Both of them think that somebody ought to have more authority. Thus you can see how rapidly they are moving towards a sort of Lutheran Hierarchy." Keyser asks for articles: "Indeed our Formula of Government expressly says that the control of the General Synod is spiritual. You know this and can give us a vigorous and rousing article."

Then something occurred that caused excitement in no mistaken way. At the meeting of the Miami Synod, in October a surprise was sprung on the delegation from the Second Church of Dayton, because it had not complied with the request of the Synod, as President Sifferd ruled. Rev. Baker, the pastor of the First Church of Dayton, objected. When a vote was taken, 14 favored the President's ruling, 16 voted against it. Then Rev. Heckert came to the aid of the President by claiming that a two-thirds vote was necessary to reverse the President's decision. No one knew that Heckert erred in this, wrote Alexander Gebhart. The Second Church was thus excluded by arbitrary ruling. When the delegation asked what should be done, they were told that was their affair. Rev. Baker and his delegate went home. And so did Rev. Fleck and his delegate of the

Second Church. On the next day Rev. Baker was telephoned that the congregation was not excluded, but was only temporarily suspended. Fleck and his delegate could come back and ask for admission. But the Second Church could not be gotten together. Mr. Gebhart gave as the reason for the Synod's dealing so harshly with the Second Church that the First Church had refused to give anything to the Semi-Centennial endowment fund, as long as the present management existed. The Synod, wrote Mr. Gebhart, passed a resolution to pay \$10,000 for two years on the endowment. But he knew of only \$25,000 from Mr. Harter and \$1,000 from Sheerin that had been contributed. The First Church was also summoned by the Synod to stand trial in the future. It will be remembered that Rev. Baker and Alexander Gebhart, both of the First Church of Dayton, had complained against Dr. Gotwald at the "Gotwald trial."

The attempt of the Synod to discipline these two churches, the conduct of the Wittenberg Board at the Gotwald trial, and other manifestations of a "new spirit" at Wittenberg are ably set forth and severely rebuked by the *Answer of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Dayton, Ohio, to Citation of Miami Synod* (46 pages), signed October, 1896, by the Pastor of the church, Ernest E. Baker, and by the Secretary of the Council, A. S. Weustoff.

This affair did not touch Stuckenberg directly, but served to increase the estrangement from Wittenberg, which had begun in the movement that found its outlet in the way the Gotwald trial ended. These things could not be fully discussed, wrote Professor Young, in the *Observer* and the *Evangelist*, because both papers had to watch their subscription list. A monthly was needed for airing things freely, and he knew one who was willing to conduct it, he added,—Rev. Leander Keyser.

In December, Stuckenberg devoted a week to lectures at Gettysburg; he was royally received. Even Dr. M. Rhodes, of St. Louis, heard and wrote about the enthusiasm made by Stuckenberg's visit to the institutions of learning on the battlefield.



A month before this, Stuckenberg's citizenship had been challenged in Massachusetts. His birth and long residence in Germany after 45 were advanced as ground sufficient for withholding from him his right to vote. That he had voted for a quarter of a century and had served in the Army had no bearing on the decision of the Massachusetts registrar. He was obliged to send to his brother in Cincinnati for the citizen's papers of his father. He got them and voted, the newspapers having some amusement at the expense of the exacting clerk.

A man so interested in public affairs as Stuckenberg would not, could not, pass up a vote. Mrs. Stuckenberg could not vote; for woman's suffrage did not yet exist. The political influence of women had to work in other ways. Miss Frances Willard delegated, December 2, Mrs. Stuckenberg as fraternal representative to the Assembly of American Federation of Labor, where she was to urge the adoption of resolutions in favor of Prohibition. She was a woman of the white ribbon, and was the new W. C. T. U. Superintendent of its department of labor. Dr. Louise C. Purington sketched her life, stressing this office, in the *Union Signal*, January 30, 1896. Mrs. Stuckenberg corresponded considerably with President S. Gompers, in regard to wages for women compositors in printing offices, and about the trade union movement. His severity towards churchmen cooled down, he expressed a desire to see the *Homiletic Review* and articles written in it by Mrs. Stuckenberg for the American Federation. She wrote for Gompers' paper on the liquor question and prepared for the *Outlook* of December 26, 1896, an article of gentler mould, on Emil Frommel, one of the Court preachers in Berlin.

In February, 1896, Stuckenberg lectured before the students in Marietta College, Ohio. President John W. Simpson stated the result: "Never has any one before interested the students so much . . . you certainly have a grip on our students." At this time, Dr. Butler, of Washington, editor of the *Evangelist*, described a visit of Stuckenberg at Washington, where he preached ("Lutheran Evangelist," March 13, 1896).



In March, the same year, Stuckenberg's *Tendencies in German Thought*, 272 pages, appeared, being published by the Student Publishing Company, Hartford, Conn. It is an epitome of much that he had presented in various writings and lectures. The first chapter gives a general view of the tendencies in thought. Two chapters discuss the philosophical trend, excellent chapters. Three are devoted to theology, one to social conditions. The final chapter is a contribution to pedagogics. The book has much of charm, shedding a flood of light on the objectives and methods of German University scholarship. In the Preface the author makes special mention of half a dozen men who introduced him to German thought—and, also, of Philip Schaff, as his dear friend.

Many letters of appreciation were received by Stuckenberg at the appearance of the book. President Gates of Grinnell College noted its "remarkably transparent style and substantial thinking." W. Henry Green, of Princeton, receipted for it by sending to Stuckenberg a monograph of his own, on the Pentateuch. J. Henry Thayer, the Librarian of Harvard, found it admirably suited to orient young students about to go to Germany. He humorously ventured the information that he had been obliged to suspend his reading of it because "my wife has discovered the lecture on 'German Socialism'." He offers Stuckenberg privileges in regard to the Harvard Divinity Library: "Any books you may wish to take out may be charged to my name."

If Stuckenberg was wanted at Wittenberg after 1895, his correspondence shows nothing about it. The students were anxious to have him return. Dr. Gotwald's illness called for a change in the Faculty set-up in the Seminary. Mr. A. Gebhart wrote: "Mrs. Harter has the right to nominate Dr. Gotwald's successor, and if the board do not confirm her nomination, she has reserved the right to withhold her support, so that they are in her power or in the power of the persons who will influence her."

Dr. Baugher, Professor of Gettysburg College, who was in straits in that institution because of agitation for ec-

clesiasticism, appeared as commencement speaker, June 26, at Wittenberg. There was talk of engaging him as successor to Professor Gotwald; but he remained in the East. President McKnight of Gettysburg resigned on account of him, in order to bring matters to an issue. Baugher, he claimed, was "disloyal", had advised one of the pastors to throw his influence with Susquehanna University, because it, though small, was not afraid to hold up its Lutheran banner, while Gettysburg did not know where it stood.

It is difficult to say how much small town gossip had entered into the matter. In heated controversy words are seldom weighed on jeweler's scales. Misunderstanding, unwillful subjective coloring in transmitting what one has "said", "heard", etc., and conscious distortion can be at work. Against this even the most innocent man is quite helpless. But it was a fact that confusion and anxiety reigned at Gettysburg. Dr. McKnight said this could have been avoided, if some of the Board members were more resolute. Even Dr. Butler disappointed him, and was "evidently afraid of Baugher." At the meeting of the College Board "heroic treatment", as one minister wrote, was given to the "college sickness," the vote being overwhelmingly for McKnight. Attempts were also being made to land Dr. Baugher as a theological professor in Gettysburg Seminary, but this, too, failed. The crisis was passed at Gettysburg, though a synod took upon itself to attempt to chastise the College Board for its critical attitude toward Dr. Baugher.

To Stuckenberg the stiffening of the old Gettysburg spirit was welcome. As his affections were being alienated from Wittenberg, by those in power at this school, they grew and centered more and more about Gettysburg. When not writing, he was on lecture tours. He gave lectures at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 27 to August 1. They were on *Present Theological Tendencies*, detailed in six addresses: *The Grounds of These Tendencies*; *Criticism and Negation*; *Constructive Tendencies*; *The Person of Christ*; *The Ritschl School*; *The Social Tendency in Theology*. Dr. Mitchell

designated his lecture on Ritschl as brilliant, and invited him to come to Hartford Seminary to address the students.

He soon got an opportunity to expand on Ritschl. W. Harper informed him that *The American Journal of Theology* (Chicago) was to be launched and asked him to have a paper ready for it by January 1, 1897. He was also sought by others for information on many topics. W. F. Blackman, professor of Sociology, in Yale, requested him for some copies of the *Zukunft* and *Kreuz-Zeitung*, on Lombroso's articles on Religion and Crime, on Stöcker and other Christian Socialists. Jacob Clutz inquired about a book on Sociology that he could use in the Senior class at Midland College.

In December, 1896, he again gave several addresses at Gettysburg about the Characteristics of the Age. A society was now formed, this for studying sociology and philosophy. It was named "Gettysburg Philosophical Society" and planned to study Stuckenberg's *Introduction to Philosophy*. Labor leaders took note of his statements. In August, Mr. McGraith, Secretary of the American Foundation, unwisely claimed that Stuckenberg in an article had confounded Anarchy with Communism. Evidences also of his wife's increasing influence was an article on Alcoholism, already mentioned as appearing in the *American Federation*, December 19, 1896. There was quite a bit of social correspondence to attend to, for both. It varied from letters of sympathy to Mrs. Joseph Cook, whose husband was ill in New York, to answering to dine with President Warfield, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., who had been in Berlin in 1893.

In February, 1897, the four hundredth anniversary of Melancthon's birth was celebrated. Stuckenberg, who had been present in 1860 in Halle at the commemoration of the Reformer's day of death, delivered the main address, in Dr. Butler's church in Washington, D. C., Senator Knute Nelson presiding. Both were at the banquet in the evening, where Stuckenberg again spoke. Stuckenberg's position was nearer to that of Luther than to that of Melancthon.



thon. Luther rejected the third use of the law, Stuckenberg did likewise; but Melanchthon accepted it. For Melanchthon *ordo* is an ideal, set by God, whose will it is that man obey it as God's law. Melanchthon's ethical ideal was a perfect society among men, which is a realisation of *lex naturae* given to man from the beginning. This *lex naturae*, he holds, is identical with the later decalogue. It radiates from God's righteousness, present in man, but obscured by sin; it becomes active by being regenerated through the new life. Melanchthon's view is utopian, a connecting link between Catholic Thomism and the later German Idealism. Orthodox Lutheranism's submission to social conservatism goes back to Melanchthon, not to Luther.

Luther's view was different. *Lex naturae* had no religious significance for him. He was hostile to it. Luther opposes it with theoretical law, law written in books—and these laws change according to circumstances. Reason is the source of external law; and the new morality emanating from faith cannot regulate external life (Bring). Here Stuckenberg stood closer to Melanchthon than to Luther, who teaches that social forms are actually concrete, and are valuable to the extent that they can be made to serve Love (E. g., theft cannot serve Love). The Melanchthon-festival brought out a new edition of Stuckenberg's *History of the Augsburg Confession* (Preface, March 17, 1897). The text remains unchanged. But the preface has been abbreviated. It grants that the suspicion that Luther's indignation at Coburg was caused by withholding letters from him, cannot be *proved*.

In June, 1897, Stuckenberg visited Indianapolis, where Mrs. Rush, member of his former church, gave a reception for him. Even his brother and his sister-in-law, from Cincinnati gladdened his heart by their presence. He lectured at Indianapolis, and also at Richmond, where the *Richmond Palladium* designated him as the "most thoroughly and truly eloquent man . . . who has appeared in this city. . . . The audience was carried away."



His visit to Indianapolis and Richmond was made in connection with his attending the Synod at Ohio. He felt, he wrote, that "faction" was ruling and having "the machine."

On September 15 he was again at Synod, which assembled in Ashbury Park, N. J., and in October, he accepted an invitation to lecture at Selinsgrove.

Two deaths occurred among the near relatives of Mrs. Stuckenberg, in 1897, which brought sorrow to her home. Her brother Louis died in July, after much suffering. On December 27, her mother was buried at Erie. Stuckenberg wrote to his wife from Cambridge: "It is now 11 in Erie, the time for the funeral. I need not tell you that my thoughts and heart are in the sad home where I have received so much kindness from the one whose remains are now to be committed to the cold ground. How I want to be there! Yet it is better so, even necessary. It is right that the affection for her should be deep. . . . I have been much depressed since you left. I did not believe that I should so much feel her death." Mr. Gingrich, father of Mrs. Stuckenberg, died July 27, 1896.

§ 2. The Social Problem, 1897—Introduction to the Study of Sociology (1898)

The fall of 1897 saw the publication of Stuckenberg's *The Social Problem*, of 373 pages. The publisher was the Social Problem Publishing Company, York, Pa. (Anstadt). This new work deals with the social problem, almost exclusively from the standpoint of sociology and economics. It is based both on older and newer studies and on the close contacts the author had got with the American workingmen, whose meetings he was often called upon to address. It also refers to his view of Christian Socialism, which had changed considerably since he wrote his work of 1880. He now holds that it is a barrier in the way of the best inquiry in regard to the social problem, to solve it from an exclusive professional, or narrow specialist's standpoint. The lawyer is apt to place the emphasis on legal enactments, the statesman considers the governmental aspects of the

case, and the churchman regards the Church as the chief, if not the sole factor in the solution.

He now questions "Christian Socialism." "Some Christians advocate a Christian Socialism as the cure of social ills. In that case Socialism cannot be taken as a particular form of industrial collectivism, for that is not established by Christianity. The spirit of Christianity ought undoubtedly to be supreme in the economic relations of men; but more than this spirit is required in order to determine the best mode of production." "Such solutions as those of private and communal property, of individualism and socialism, of the relative value of different kinds of labor, of the relation between capital and labor, of the tenure of land, of rent, interest and profit, must be settled on economic principles, in part at least; and so far as purely economic, they no more affect Christianity than does a question in mathematics. Those who make Christ the divider of goods among men, which He refused to be, are in danger of losing the essence of Christianity. . . . Let the most exalted place be given to religion, but it can not by itself solve the social problem. On the continent of Europe, where the problem has been so fully developed, this is admitted and theologians treat it as selfevident."

Those are words of wisdom and show that the author here at least has gained a firmer ground under his feet than he had when he published his "Christian Sociology." And yet, one hand seems to take back a part of what the other hand gives. For he adds: "As an application of the spirit and teaching of Christ to social affairs, Christian socialism has a very important place." Referring to his book of 1880, the author re-asserts his tenet that "there are rich sociological elements in the New Testament, showing the relation and duties of men in their associated capacities. . . . We must recognize the Christian Sociology found in the New Testament. . . . The New Testament contains a doctrinal and ethical system of Christian Society which needs recognition and development."

It might seem from the first statements quoted above, that the book advocates the same view of social duties as Rudolph Sohm's very fine address, *Die sozialen Pflichten der Gebildeten* (May, 1896).

Sohm says that man's *will* is the first thing to be educated. An education that is truly Christian changes man so as to make him free from everybody and servant of everybody. A Christian observes poverty about him. He wishes to help; he helps by showing his love, giving charity. But indispensable as Christian charity is (it gives without expecting returns), it is not able, says Sohm, to solve the social question. Alms is an expression of the recipient's bondage. One thing must be added to Christian education: *soziale Bildung*, knowledge of the economic order. The solution of the social questions does not primarily call for the problem of charity, but for the problem of law, order, the ordering of liberty. The task of the law is to let freedom proceed from order. The workingman needs freedom of assembly. Train man to the liberty of a Christian man (free from all, servant of all), but at the same time to the liberty of a German (let us say American) man. "Work on your Christian education, and work on your social education." They are two things. Thus far Sohm in substance.

To this we must add Sohm's firm belief, held in all seriousness and defended with all the ability of his fine scholarship, that there is nothing sociological in the New Testament. We go to *reason* for that, not to *revelation*. And the New Testament, in so far as it is not revelation, does not bind man's conscience.

Kind words were said about Stuckenberg's book by the press. The *American Craftsman*, New York, December 11, 1897, considers it an "invaluable book," one that "almost lives and breathes." The *Liberator*, Boston, January, 1898, dwelling on the purely sociological aspects of the work, finds it a most thoroughly helpful book for the seeker of the underlying truth of the labor question. The author of this notice was Frank K. Foster, who had invited Stuck-

enberg to speak before audiences of workingmen in Boston, being himself a lecturer, who in 1904 was selected by the Boston Labor Union to reply to President Eliot's criticism of trade unions, a criticism that Harvard as late as 1937 was still keeping up. *The Advance* (Chicago), February 24, 1898, containing a review by Graham Taylor, finds that the author offers far more radical remedies now than formerly, wanting the extension of industrial functions of the state, "which amounts to a limited state socialism," and such an evolution of the Church as would enable it to show and realize the relation and duties of men in associated capacity. *The New York Evangelist*, March 3, finds the book sympathetic to men of toil. *The American Trade Journal*, Pittsburgh, March 12, praises the book for aiming at a union of all men of worth and integrity, on a basis higher than that of material interests.

*The Union Signal*, *The Congregationalist* (Boston), *The Presbyterian* (Philadelphia), all commend it. *The Ohio University Mirror*, March 19, presents favorable generalities. *The Lutheran Evangelist* comes closer to missing the point than all the other reviews. It reads into the book that the "solution of the social problem is found in the simple principles taught and exemplified by the man of Nazareth. . . . He alone reaches with His simple philosophy the deepest needs of man's nature."

In 1894, a manuscript, *Introduction to the Study of Socialism*, was submitted by Stuckenberg to G. P. Putnam's Sons. But it was not accepted because the author required the publishers should publish it without any expense to him. The reader of Putnam's publishing house, however, praised the manuscript of the author who "asserts that socialism is the dominant tendency of the age, a reaction from extreme individualism, the dominant tendency of the past period . . . he is capable of sustained argument through many chapters. He is familiar with many authorities on the subject, and knows how to quote judiciously. It is a most thorough, comprehensive and scientific discussion of the question. So comprehensive is it, that it is



impossible to do it justice in any report of it. It is not dry argument either. It has been of such controlling interest, that I have read every word of it eagerly."

The work in the main, he explained, rather dealt with problems and the conditions of their solutions than with the solutions themselves. Hence this work, as the author claimed, was an introduction to Socialism, rather than a solution of the question.

After a period of four years, during which time Stuckenberg made revisions here and there, it was presented anew for publication, to A. C. Armstrong and Son, New York, under the title *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*. It consists of 329 pages, dates its Preface, January 1, 1898, and is dedicated to "W. D. Miller, M.D., Professor in the University of Berlin, Promoter of Science and Friend of Humanity." Miller, it will be remembered, married the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Abbot, and Mrs. Abbot was the daughter of the American diplomat, Mr. Fay. The Stuckenbergs spent many happy hours in their home in Berlin. Though Putnam's, as we noted, could not accept this book, they later published a work of Stuckenberg's, twice as large (1903).

This book pays special attention to the interpretation of Society and eliminates from Sociology such subjects as are not sociological—like metaphysics and natural science. It discusses in seven chapters the genesis of the idea of society; the definition and scope of sociology; the relation of sociology to other social subjects; the division of sociology; the principles of society; their historical evaluation; sociological ethics, or the progress of society; methods in the study of sociology. The last two chapters deal with the question, Is sociology a science? and offers a sociological study of the age and a plan for the study of the community.

The reader of Putnam's found the book to be one of "distinctive and original importance." It was really a pioneer in American sociology. It had a competitor in Lester Frank Ward's, "The Outlines of Sociology," published in the same year.

Men like Franklin H. Giddings and Albion Small were in the field; but both wrote on sociological subjects after Stuckenberg's appearance. Small, formerly a Baptist minister, represented the historical school of Germany; and his work was primarily the history of social theory. "His conception of sociology changed from time to time, but latterly he came to regard it as the technique which approached the study of human experience through the investigation of group life" (Dawson and Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, 1930, p. 809). Giddings's *Sociology*, is according to Othmar Spann, a mixture of mechanical, organic and psychologic fundamental concepts; with him society is a mechanically conceived organization of the forces of will. But the mechanical-mathematical tendency which he follows has not been able to get a foothold even in economics.

Ward was a geologist who turned to sociology. Stuckenberg was a theologian and a philosopher, pursuing with increasing ardor the subject for thirty-five years. Perhaps no other word of technical import passed his lips so often as "social" with its derivatives. And his *magnum opus* turned out to be a work on Sociology. Ward has been classified as the representative of a special form of the biological tendency, the race-theoretic school. With him the struggle of the race is a condition for the establishment of state and the impelling force in social development. For his material he uses the scant boards of materialism. Stuckenberg's view of society is neither mechanistic nor organistic (biologic), neither psychologic nor idealistic. According to his view, society is not a compound or sum of individuals. It is composed of contributions of individuals, is the result of the interaction of social forces. Society is an energy of energies. The social units are not persons, but forces. Stuckenberg quotes in support of this Rudolph Sohm's interpretation of Roman Private Law, that the relation of person in society is not one according to totality, but according to quality of force. "Sociation" (a word coined by Stuckenberg) does not consider individuals,

but only that which interacts in them. Society, then, is not a relation of individuals, but of certain elements which individuals possess, of personal energies which act on one another. For instance, only that part of me which is literary belongs to the literary society. Sociology is therefore the science of social energies.

Strangely enough, this conception goes back to Stuckenberg's many years of work given to his manuscript "Power." Here Power is the ultimate of all things. And more unexpectedly, a kindred conception finds its affirmation in Luther's conception of the Church. The Church, according to Luther, does not consist of persons or places, for then a church of women might be weaker than one of men. It consists of the Spirit at work in them, the redeeming power of God, the Gospel, a power unto salvation. The Church is man's life with God, or God's life in man — the fellowship of the newborn — not the sinful "ego"—with God (Gal. 2:20). Luther speaks a plain language: The old Adam (man) should by daily sorrow and repentance be drowned and die . . . and again a new man daily come forth.

Reviews ? Dr. Small, editor of the *Journal of Sociology*, and professor of sociology in the University of Chicago, calls Stuckenberg's view of sociology "sane and comprehensive." Particularly clear is the section about definition (43-52). He is "in hearty accord in the main with Dr. Stuckenberg's conception of the scope and method of sociology." "The book may well confirm respect for Dr. Stuckenberg as a thinker," but Small raises pedagogic-methodologic objections. A question of mechanics.

Dr. Whitman, President of Colby College, wrote in the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago): Stuckenberg has done "some hard, straightforward thinking"; "much of the writing is in good, vigorous English." Contrary to Small, Dr. Whitman finds "the method excellent . . . the literature of the subject is copiously cited." "The teaching is balanced and sound." Dr. Stuckenberg has a "wholly admirable way of stating a position." The reviewer wishes,

though, that "Method" would have been treated in one chapter instead of being carried along through the entire book. He notes an inconsistency, and questions the definition of realism as used in the book.

Dr. John Bascom, a graduate of Williams, and President of the University of Wisconsin (1874-1887) writes in *Review of New Books*: "The merit . . . lies in the satisfactory way in which it concedes the field of social phenomena. . . . The style is clear and copious. . . . It is no small merit . . . that it assigns to ethical forces their true value in the movement of society. . . . An ethical moment is the controlling element in human progress. . . . Dr. Stuckenberg . . . interweaves the spiritual and empirical." Dr. Bascom praises the conception of "sociation," a reaction against . . . the coarse and mechanical assertion that society is made up of individuals.

L. F. Ward's position was that "society" is made up of individuals.

The *Churchman* (Episcopal), September 17, 1898: "Mr. Stuckenberg's capacity for seeing not only all sides of a problem, but for suspecting that anyone is premature, is an admirable corrective to that school of thought that glibly tells us that the laws of society prove this or that fact, with the readiness with which a biologist would speak after dissecting a frog."

The *Dial*, August 1, 1898, contains an appreciative review by Williston Fish, a lawyer.

*Living Church*: "The book shows deep and thorough thinking . . . no point is left obscure."

The *Speaker* praises the author for making sound distinctions. The book is "excellent, both as regard method and result."

*Westminster*: "It would be difficult to find any subject more bewildering than Sociology. . . . It is gratifying to find a reliable guide such as Dr. Stuckenberg, who takes a large view of the subject." It is a "vademecum."

The *Examiner* commends it very highly. "The chapter on sociological ethics is unquestionably the finest."



The *Evangelist* (not Lutheran) bestows great personal praise on the author. "No safer or better equipped guide for students of sociology has been written in this country."

The *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1898, speaks through E. G. Miller: The review is complimentary throughout, but wishes that some of the chapters were more condensed.

The *Congregationalist*, of Boston, contains the only grouchy review. It has not much to say, and it feels "that it has not brought us very far." Yet, it adds comfortingly: "Nevertheless, nobody may safely undervalue it."

Whatever darkness this display of muffled temper may have caused Stuckenberg—and likely he was amused by it—it was promptly dispelled by this notice on a card from his publishers: "New York, September 12, 1898: Beg to call your attention to an excellent notice of *Sociology* in the September number of the 'Expositor', published by Dodd Mead & Co. Very truly yours. A. C. Armstrong & Son."

The book was largely sold for College use.

§ 3. At Marietta College—The Theology of Ritschl—Tribute to a Rare Life—An Evaluation of Bismarck—The Refrain of Christian Socialism

In 1896 Stuckenberg gave a course of lectures at Marietta College (Ohio). The city of Marietta was long regarded as the oldest city in Ohio. The College renewed its invitation to him, to lecture the winter quarter, from January to April, 1898. He was to receive \$1,000 for this. Friends unknown to the Executive Committee and himself had supplied the funds for this. The work proved exacting, since it comprised three months of all day work and evening lectures for the public, admitted on ticket. L. W. Ellenwood, the chief criminal lawyer of the city, asked him in the interest of business, commercial and laboring people to deliver his last lecture to the general public on an evening, the Trade and Labor Council of the city setting the time. Mrs. Stuckenberg was along, and she held many meetings with women.

The lectures were so well liked that the College renewed its invitation for the winter term, 1898-99, this year, too, the remuneration being \$1,000. It was arranged with Stuckenberg through correspondence from Mr. W. M. Mills, banker, and uncle of the to-be Vice President Dawes. *Introduction to Sociology* was used as a text, and a supplementary pamphlet written by Stuckenberg.<sup>22</sup> The city was surveyed by students under the direction of Stuckenberg, anticipating what a generation later was done with "Mid-dletown." Marietta, old and historic, offered much material for sociological research.

I. H. Wagner, a student in Susquehanna University, reflected the gratitude of his student body for the visit Stuckenberg had paid to that school, and reported about organized effort to study his *Introduction*. This was encouraging. From Professor Ehrenfeld came the discouraging news that "cockatrices" were planning to remove a certain professor from Wittenberg. Said the letter: "What a history could be written of doings there for the last ten or twelve years, if it were worth while. The Church will never understand the history of what took place there until they get that the prime motive was not doctrine but ecclesiastical power and advancement." This news hardly seemed like news to Stuckenberg any longer. The letter re-echoed his own thoughts. But the reception of his *Introduction* and the reading of his articles in the "Homiletic Review" by strangers in distant states gladdened his heart. Rev. J. George, of the First Presbyterian Church, Chippewa Falls, Wis., asked him for pertinent literature. So did Rev. C. W. Colline from Drayton, North Dakota, who called himself a "western country minister." And James A. Churchman, Secretary of the Curtis Club, asked him what his charge would be to speak before a workingmen's club. He was asked to speak before the Carpenters Union of Boston. Rev. F. W. C. Meyer, from New Haven, successor to Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, wrote about temperance work, adding humorously that the paper he

was running had been dipped for fourteen years in "Tinte" instead of *ink*. He mentioned that Dr. Rauschenbusch had often spoken to him about "you and your important work."

Rauschenbusch and Stuckenberg had much of "the passion for humanity" in common. But the former was too much dipped in *Taufertum*, which asked for earthly reform in *the name of Christ*, using Christ's *revealing* message as source instead of reason alone or going Luther's way, to which Stuckenberg adhered more closely, though he, too, like most Lutherans in America, made concessions to *Taufertum*, whether they willed it or not. Of course, spiritual *Taufertum*, not organized, is meant. Admirable as was the sacrificial spirit of Dr. Rauschenbusch, he almost wrecked the Gospel by his nomistic application of it.

The man that perhaps more than anybody else was responsible for the general movement of the ethicizing Gospel and ethicizing church, both in America and in Germany, was Albrecht Ritschl, of Göttingen. Ever so many American theologians went to Germany to hear him or his disciples. And these were well represented in the faculties of German universities. We especially think of A. Harnack, W. Herrmann, and J. Kaftan; and of universities like Berlin, Marburg, and Giessen. Stuckenberg had heard Ritschl at Göttingen, and he heard Harnack in 1892 lecture about Ritschl, in the University of Berlin. Stuckenberg, complying with the request from President Harper, wrote *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl* for the "American Journal of Theology." (268-292.)

He depicts Ritschl with his judgments of value, his dismissal of philosophic speculation; with his claim that the entire mission of Christ was to establish the Kingdom of God against the kingdom of sin; that God is love; that the leading principle in theology is the supreme good; that punishment of sin is not a direct act of God, but a natural consequence of sin; that the church is an invisible spiritual communion of saints, not an external institution subject to legal enactments. He shows that Ritschl regarded the Old Testament teachings as merely preparatory; that even



the New Testament must be used critically; that all questions as to the nature or substance of Christ must be dismissed as metaphysical; that the absorbing activity of Christ is ethical; that Christ's work is chiefly prophetic; that there can be no doctrine of total depravity, sin being ignorance; that religion exists for man's welfare; and that the orthodox theory of atonement must be rejected.

Stuckenberg wrote his article on Ritschl, with great care. He did not attempt to judge the *individual* statements of Ritschl. While holding that Ritschl had produced one of the most important theological epochs in Germany since the days of Luther, he proclaims Ritschl's theory as a presentation rather than a solution. It is ferment, not finalty. Philosophy was Ritschl's weakest side, as Harnack said. Ritschl opposes the subjective element in religion; yet his own system is too subjective. This theology reveals phenomenalism at its disadvantage. Its view of depravity does not reach the depth of what Paul says concerning this. Its exegesis changes to suit the system.

The article received a most excellent notice in *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1899, p. 577, praising it for its objectiveness in presenting Ritschl's theology and for stating the permanent merits of the man and adequately evaluating his *charactervolle* Christian personality.

What escaped Stuckenberg's attention is, as Dr. Aulen in an entirely different connection says: that the kingdom of God has nothing to do with the idea of earthly happiness. It works in history, not in a *crescendo* manner, not evolutionistically, not in an idealizing resigned manner.

The kingdom of God was then much discussed in American circles. Dr. Shailer Matthews solicited from Stuckenberg and others their opinion on two things: 1) Does the term as used by Jesus have a social content? 2) Is the term primarily or exclusively eschatological?<sup>23</sup> A symposium of opinions was to be published in the *Biblical World*. The letter, dated March 18, 1898, has the postscript: "I beg to recall myself from memory as one whom you helped from preaching in Berlin."



It has been mentioned that Mrs. Stuckenberg suffered the loss of her mother and a brother in 1897. In 1898 the reaper came to the Stuckenberg side of the house. His brother Hermann Henry Stuckenberg died at his home in Cincinnati. The Cambridge brother calls his a "Rare Life" in a touching tribute he paid to the deceased in the *Lutheran Observer*, August 5, 1898. The deceased was called Heinrich, or Henry, and came at the age of ten to America, was a merchant and manufacturer, had three main affections: his family, the church, and the Sunday school. "There was a strong Sinaitic element in his conscientiousness," standing for the sanctity of the Sabbath, being against the theatre, cards and all games of chance. He was a man of rare principles, upright and kind. He brooded much on his sick bed over the unhappy conflicts in the General Synod. He left widow, four sons, and five daughters. One of the sons was H. C. Stuckenberg, who became a preacher. The article is a brother's tribute, though it could not, as Stuckenberg says, give expression to a brother's heart.

As Stuckenberg let his memories glide back to 1865—when he for the first time saw and met Ritschl, there was another man who loomed up before him and who now in 1898, through his death, occasioned that he added a sketch of him to the ones he had written about his own brother and about Ritschl. It was Prince Bismarck, who died in the summer of 1898. The "Lutheran Observer," August 19, contains Stuckenberg's article, *A Study of Bismarck*. He speaks of the time he saw him in Berlin, in 1865-66, and in 1880-94; about his determination to unify Germany; his share in Prussia's war with Austria in 1866 and with France in 1870, giving birth to the German Empire. He dwells upon the *Kulturkampf*, when the Catholics fought him; upon his struggle against social democracy; and William II's break with him. He shows the man's determined iron will, but defends him against the charge of being without principle and heart. Stuckenberg was acquainted with his sister, Countess von Arnim, and knew from her about his simple, beautiful, reproachless family life. He knew

many others who stood near to him and testified about his genuine religion, which abhorred demonstration. Bismarck made his word and action fit the occasion. Like Luther, he was typically and intensely German; he advocated the cause of the poor and demanded that their complaints be heeded and heard by the crown and the state; and had the laws insuring laborers against sickness, accident and old age passed. Massiveness was a mental as well as a physical characteristic of his. He was not a great speaker, yet his words had overwhelming effect. Stuckenberg heard him, as we have noted, speak in the Diet against the socialistic leader Bebel, when his argument was crushing.

Stuckenberg liked to study biography and describe man. He cared less for writing book reviews, though he referred to hundreds of books, often revealing their main content in a line or a paragraph interwoven with much else. But he did sometimes write formal reviews. Thus "The American Journal of Theology" had him review Vincent's *The Social Mind in Education*, Henderson's *Social Elements*, Lorimer's *Christianity and the Social State*, also a work of C. D. Wright. In the meantime H. C. Wright wrote him a letter asking him for advice on a theme for a doctor's degree, in Sociology, at the Boston University.

As to his contributions to the "Homiletic Review", he conducted, beginning 1895, the "Social Problem." With Schmoller he believed that religion was guilty of concerning itself too little with economic matters. In an issue for April, 1895, he again speaks of the New Testament as having a social system rich in facts, in laws, and in principles. He then says, we need Christian solutions for a number of problems, largely ethical. He praises the arbitration sponsored by men like Mundell and Judge Ketles, and finds that economics has too much technique and too little philosophy. He regards Professor Karl Menger as one of the keenest minds among writers on political matters. Among American economists he praises C. D. Wright. He is pleased that Wilhelm Wundt notes that the theory of knowledge is receding before ethics, which shows the growing emphasis

on the social. He quotes Eugene Debbs as blaming the church for being an enemy of labor. He finds that the Catholics have much that is commendable in social work. He notes with satisfaction the growing use of the term that he sponsored in 1880, "Christian Sociology". "The social teachings of Jesus are fundamental."

In 1897, the Department which he was conducting for the "Homiletic Review" got a new name, "Social Study and Social Work." Here, among other things, he says Christ's religion is heavenly, but it establishes the kingdom of heaven on this earth. . . . Christianity can glory in the fact that it has not merely incidentally, but *directly* and purposely, promoted progress in education, in politics, in all kinds of humanitarian institutions. . . . Taking Christ's examples as the model, the Church has a direct mission respecting the renewal of all kinds of human life.

He argued that religion includes body and soul, hence has a revelation for things temporal also. He rejoices that an economist like William Roscher has a deep interest in home missions. He has praise for Professor Henry Drummond and William Wallace, but criticism for the treatment which Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews received at the hands of Brown University because of his views on history and economics and favoring free silver. He appreciates attitudes taken by philosophers like T. H. Hill, E. Caird; an economist like Henry George; and a statesman like Gladstone—on social matters.

The discussion of 1898 ranges, however, largely about the attitude of Christ and His apostles toward the social question. To this—what is there to say? In Luther's words? Naturally, the good should be praised, wherever found, but a good act is good in itself, and does not acquire its goodness by being done through a Christian. Let goodness abound; but salvation is not by goodness, but by grace. Let the whole world bend its efforts towards civic righteousness—and a Christian is not excused therefrom. But the righteousness of God is of a different order and on a higher plane.

Dr. Erich Förster in *Das Christentum der Zeitgenossen* (1902) praises the views of Dr. Roscher in regard to Christianity. He places them higher than those of Moritz Carrière, Wilhelm Riehl, Ernst Curtius, Heinrich von Treitschke, who also have said fine things about Christianity and who have professed Christianity. But not one of them—not even Roscher—stands on the platform of New Testament Christianity. They all more or less lean on the traditional ecclesiastic conception of it. We would amplify: they do not distinguish between what is *revelation* in the New Testament, and what is temporal framework. To say it crudely; they mix substance and form. What is often taken to be glorious truths in the New Testament—say sociological—is temporal, is a framework, scaffold, shell. The work of Jesus was that of *revelation*, revealing what man cannot find out by the use of *reason*; be it that of one man or of all. Reason has not yet exhausted itself. It is *source* sufficient for *all temporal* matters, but no *source* at all for things *eternal*. That reason should combat revelation is of course a supposition, foreign to this argumentation. But reason, and it is a gift of God, is mighty. However, it can never become religion in the sense that religion is “reason raised to its ’nth power,” as an English poet has said.

Therefore, the following statements of Stuckenberg are not convincing: That Christ’s social teachings are among the most striking in the Gospel; that Christ denounced Dives because he was rich and had a different attitude toward Lazarus because he was poor. “Social students claim nothing but what is warranted in the Bible.” Jesus taught “not political economy, but principles.”

However, it almost startles to read how Stuckenberg praises Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis’ opinion that Christ is the *supreme example of genius*; that Christ’s intellectual resources were enormous; that the only sure basis of social advancement is the progress of the common people.

Granting the latter, why classify the unclassifiable as a genius and measure his intellectual resources? Was intellect the source for his work as Savior?



But how much clearer is Albert Hauck, whom Söderblom has called Protestantism's greatest Church historian. Hauck finds that religion and culture are in their very nature entirely different. Religion seeks a relation with the superworldly; culture works only on the task of shaping the worldly (not necessarily sinful). They contact, but are distinct. Christianity did not enter the world as a cultural force; the ideas of culture are quite foreign to the Founder. There are few moral questions which are not gently or more definitely touched in the speeches of Jesus. But the problems of culture lie beyond his horizon. His religion, without temple and without altar, was also a religion without art. It sought truth alone, not beauty. Beauty is reserved for the future world. . . . It sought religious truth. . . . The work of culture and the work of religion lie on different planes. But a material opposition between them does not exist. Living for the world beyond does not exclude working in this present world; it purifies and deepens it. Protestantism cannot be an enemy of culture. Thus Hauck, in *Die Reformation in ihrer Wirkung auf das Leben*, 1918.

One may, of course, point to the prophets of the Old Testament and their social endeavors. They really were social endeavors, directed solely toward the establishment of a kingdom on earth. The Israelitish religion, as Dr. Emanuel Hirsch has shown, knew nothing of two kingdoms. It knew only of one, to be established and perfected in this world. The severest task even for John the Baptist was to fathom that "My kingdom is not of this world," and that the idea of Messiah which Jesus had was different from the one taught in the Old Covenant.

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Stuckenberg had an irresistible desire to travel. But he was not satisfied with confining himself to making journeys from Cambridge to several of the New England states or to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and adjacent territory. In letters, he "dreams" of short

visits he would like to make to Europe, particularly to Germany. His *Introduction to Sociology*, on which he had put so much labor, was now off his mind. He and others were teaching it, theoretically and practically. After he completed his winter term at Marietta College, to which institution he was to be called back for the third time, he felt free to take a vacation. President Thwing of Western Reserve had offered him the chair of Philosophy, and, it seems, approached him again in 1894 by asking him to take a chair in sociology and economics. However, he preferred to live in Boston with its wonderful library. Nevertheless, Boston did not give him quite all he wanted, and he missed the German contacts of old. And so he decided to go for a few months' study to Europe, in the meantime working on a new book. In the early part of May, 1899, he sailed for Europe.

#### § 4. Four Months in Berlin and Paris (1899)

On May 19, 1899, Stuckenberg arrived at Berlin. His first visit was with Dr. and Mrs. Miller. On the next day we find him in the Royal Library. He searched for ten days, and concluded that though there was much written on practical socialism, the University did not have much to offer him for his scientific work on Society. "This shows the importance of my investigations. . . . For the most of my work I am thrown on my own resources, on careful systematic thinking. . . . I am on the right track: A science of society is possible." He went to church on his first Sunday in Berlin, but declined to preach; Dr. Dickey, its pastor, was away. He went to operas and theatres, about once a week. He witnessed the performance of *Zauberflöte*, *Freischütz*, *Der Trompeter von Säckingen*, *Carmen*. He commented on the threatened war between England and Transvaal, and the uncertain political conditions in Europe. He had little hope in Peace Conferences.

In the midst of his reveries he got notice from Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg) that at its Board meeting,

June 13, it had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Amused and pleased he wrote: "How strange that for three weeks I was an LL.D. without knowing it. . . . Well, people can now cease wondering why I have not the degree, and can ask, *Why* I have it." He brought the news next morning to the Millers. "Professor Miller on his enthusiastic congratulations upset the milk, so I got cream for my *zweites Frühstück auf Brot und Honig*." The evening, again at the Millers, was pleasantly spent in a kind of *Doktorschmaus*.

He visited Mrs. Caroline Abbot, who had aged considerably, owing to the death of her husband and Court preacher Frommel, went again to the American church, heard a student preach, "aber es war nicht erbaulich." He was glad that he no longer was pastor of that church. "We did our work, its results remain, and in this we can rejoice; but nothing could induce us again to accept that place. We have outgrown the conditions of the work and have gone to something better. . . . The congregation looked strange to me and seemed to be without inspiration."

On May 30, he attended the *Gartenfest*, spoke with Mrs. Davies, met Von Knobelsdorf "who greeted me with a kiss in front of the large assembly"—also met Count Bernstorff, his wife, and Count Eduard von Pückler, the impulsive, generous president of the Christian Students' Union, leader in the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*. "Bernstorff and I are to spend an afternoon discussing subjects of mutual interest." He missed Phildius and Rothkirch, the Y. M. C. A. workers. The addresses at the festival, he found, were much like those of Salvation Army speakers in point of earnestness and intellect. The good cause was prospering, but the addresses were not *erbaulich* for a thinking Christian, he said.

He wishes that his wife would be in Berlin, but she was busily engaged in her W. C. T. U. work in America; he hoped that they both could spend some months every year in Germany. "I do not think of making this my home again, but a protracted visit would be delightful. The

friends are almost too numerous for uninterrupted work. I did not know they were so many."

He met folks he knew almost every day. Several people desired to be remembered to Mrs. Stuckenberg. His social life in Berlin was becoming a prominent factor. The old time heartiness greeted him at the Webers with whom he dined. "They are warm friends." He also dined with the Bronsons, with the Magees. Professor Mead called upon him, and left a volume of his poetical translations, just out, published for circulation among his friends. Berlin had a renewed fascination for him:

"I desire more time here (in the future) even if Cambridge remains our home. In Berlin I at once get into circles that are congenial, that give inspiration and help in the higher pursuits. Religion, culture, the great concerns of nations, are living topics, while business or money are rarely mentioned in my presence. Here my studies and life are appreciated. Yet I feel that it may be best to keep our home in America and make that the chief field of our labor. A visit of some months here now and then may accomplish most of what I desire here."

"As I left the Library yesterday, I met Professor Lasson, who asked me to be at his house that evening at seven. I accepted and had an evening of much pleasure. His wife . . . is almost blind and deaf, and very feeble. She was up but a short time after my arrival." He describes several guests, the most interesting of whom was Herr Johan J. Borelius, a philosopher (Hegelian) from the University of Lund, Sweden, "venerable, cordial and as simple as a child," with his wife, who spoke English well, and though not a philosopher "was 'philosophically sympathetic,' as her husband said." A good supper on the piazza was followed by interesting discussions. . . . Before all the guests arrived, Professor Lasson read some manuscript poems of his own hand, based on the thoughts of the mystic Eckhart. It was one of my most delightful evenings since my arrival. He again met Lasson, who now complained that he stood "quite alone" as to his philosophical views.



In the middle of July he relates that he had been with a Mr. Hanson, an explorer. Mr. Hanson "has been to Iceland twice since we left Berlin, has surveyed the country for a telegraph, and gave interesting accounts of the land and people. He expects to return there with his family and superintend the laying of the telegraph. He is a specialist of importance on Iceland. He gave me Iceland spar and also a pair of sheep-skin Iceland shoes. She (the wife) was cordial, asked me to baptize her youngest child, but gave up the idea when I urged that the record ought to be in a church book, where I cannot put it."

He went to Dr. Dalton, for many years pastor of the German churches in St. Petersburg. Russia was the prominent theme. "Dr. Dalton read the stirring address of the chairman of the delegation from Finland to the Czar. The address was not received, and was delivered to the minister. It was calculated to open the eyes of the world to the outrage committed against a loyal brave and devoted people. The Czar is evidently under the influence of a set of bigots."

Stuckenberg was much in company with Major Wachs, who for one of their meetings invited the former editor of *Das Volk*, a man who knew Lasalle personally and was full of information about him. Meeting this man and at the Millers, a Mr. Chase, who was long a prisoner in Libby, meant much to Stuckenberg. He also visited with Mr. Knolenberg. He met Herr Oberwinder, correspondent of the *Chicago Record*, who also had been invited by Major Wachs. He paid several visits to the *Völkermuseum* and wrote contentedly, "How fortunate that my whole heart is in my studies."

About August 15 he arrived at Paris, where he wrote about the Dreyfus excitement, the Louvre, and Notre Dame, which he found disappointing after visiting Cologne. He sat one night at the Boulevard near the Opera House watching the surging crowds: "What scenes, what a life, the people gay, lighthearted, with many an object of abject misery." He speaks of the anti-Semitic leader Guérin:

"I believe the authorities are afraid to take him by force, the city is said to sympathize with him. The hatred of the Jews is intense. . . . Last night papers favorable to Dreyfus were burnt on the streets near the house of Guerin by boys of 18 or 20, who are reckless and may inflame others. Perhaps they are paid for their folly."

In the early part of September, Stuckenberg left Paris "without special regret." He liked the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, spent many hours each day there. But Paris "has not increased my desire to spend much time abroad. The life is far from attractive to me."

In the fall of 1899, he was back in Cambridge working on his final and largest work *Sociology*.

§ 5. A Question for Scribes—War with Spain and International Law—Categories of Social Forces Presented at Cobb Divinity School—Sociology as Subdivision of Philosophy?—Philosophy of History as Sociology—Independence of Sociology—What the "A. L. A. Catalog" Registered as Sociology—The Cook-Ingersoll Clash—Truth the Prime Consideration—Some Personal Traits

In one of the last of his articles in "Homiletic Review", for 1899, Stuckenberg discusses the person of Christ, asserting that the question, "What think ye of Christ?" was put in the foreground by the Reformation."

The importance assigned by Stuckenberg to this question agrees with his intellectually colored conception of Christ shared by millions who believe in Him as the Savior, but intellectually fail to see the dualism involved in stressing the importance of this particular question which Christ put to the Scribes and Pharisees and which only concerns Scribes and Pharisees, not Christians, as a great student of Primitive Christianity and the Reformation has pointed out. The question of importance is, Have you Christ as your Lord and God, the source of your religious life? This question does not make him a source to draw upon in solving economic, social and political problems.<sup>24</sup>

As before stated, Stuckenberg was invited for the third time to give a term of lectures at Marietta, in January,

1899. Whether he accepted is not indicated, since the letter of invitation, sent to him by Mr. Mills remained unanswered. It was probably lost, judging by a letter of the President of the school.

The course, planned for Gettysburg in the summer of 1898, it appears, was not given; first, owing to a delay through a misunderstanding in the committee which was to arrange for it; secondly, to the excitement of the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. It was thought that many students at Gettysburg would enlist. And later, in 1899, Stuckenberg could not visit Gettysburg because of his absence from the country.

The political turn which matters took in our country after the signing of peace, occasioned that Stuckenberg thought that a word on International Law was in place. He regarded the war of the United States with Spain as one of imperialistic expansion. Advocating ethical standards also in inter-state relations, and having made quite a study of International Law, he held that our Government was pursuing a course of injustice.

He therefore wrote a pamphlet, *International Law and the Islands Ceded by Spain to the United States*, dated March 20, 1900, and published by J. J. Arakelyan, Boston (16 pages), which he sent to the members of Congress and others. Ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, of Illinois, on receiving a copy, tendered the author the following: "Chicago, April 11, 1900. . . . I have read your pamphlet . . . and I must thank and congratulate you. Your treatment of the subject is masterful and a wide circulation of your pamphlet would do a great deal of good. . . ."

Lewis G. James, of Boston, suggested to Stuckenberg to send it to Albert S. Parsons, of the Anti-Imperialistic League, Henry J. Mackintosh, Charles Francis Adams, Rev. H. M. Simmons, Minneapolis, Minn. James was glad the pamphlet had been sent to the Congressmen; he thought he could see a reaction beginning against "our present policy," though the apathy of the people was disheartening to him. He believed with Stuckenberg, however, that if

they could once be convinced of the facts, the American people would not deliberately pursue a course of injustice.

In his *Sociology* (1903), soon to be treated, Stuckenberg criticizes the apathy of citizens who exalt home affairs and treat other nations with injustice, following the unethical theory of "My country, right or wrong," which is particularly strong in times of war. They regard the state as omnipotent, even when waging a criminal war. He, however, considers the state as the people in its associated capacity, and he regrets that the United States has so few professors of International Law in its universities, while Russia has one in every university. There is, he finds, an astonishing ignorance existing respecting International Law. Even law students get only a smattering of it. It is considered too remote from the interest of law students to appeal to them. The plea for international justice, spreading knowledge about International Law, usually falls on deaf ears, while the most selfish state policy finds enthusiastic support at the ballot box, on the platform, in the pulpit, in the press and in political life. . . . "Nothing but the utmost necessity can justify war. . . . I learned on the battle fields of Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg that no language can describe the horrors of war."

From September 3 to 8, 1900, we find Stuckenberg on the program of the Sixth Annual Session of the Maine Ministers Institute, held at Cobb Divinity School, in Lewiston, Maine. There were eight speakers. Stuckenberg's subjects were: *The Meaning and Scope of Sociology; The Nature of Society, the Individual and Society; the Social Forces; Social Evolution; the Relation of Sociology to Ethics and Religion.*

The first three lectures were later published in a neat volume, *New Wine Skins: Present-Day Problems*, of 302 pages, by the Morning Star Publishing House, Boston. Stuckenberg's lectures constitute the first 88 pages of it. They orient us as to the fundamental views he held respecting society.



Reversing somewhat the order of the lectures, let us consider first the Nature of Society as he analyzed it. His views here are peculiarly illuminating. In substance they are as follows:

Society is not an aggregate of individuals. Place, physical contact, external relations never constitute human society, but may be important conditions for its creation. The family is a biological product, but a person by emigration may be disassociated from it. An evening gathering or company is called society, yet it is not limited to formal organization. Society embraces all groupings of men between whom mental combinations and interactions take place. Between two friends this mental reciprocity and mutuality may be the most intimate. As long as society is regarded as composed of individuals, society cannot be understood. A man is reported to belong to twenty different societies; but if he really belongs to one, he can no more belong to the other nineteen than a dollar can belong to twenty separate individuals. A church is not composed of individuals. There are churches with millionaires in them which nevertheless are burdened with debts and have no reputation for individuality. The fact is that a church has of the mind of the members, of their ability and means, only what they give to it. Let twenty men be supposed to constitute a scientific association and then form a whist club. The whist club and the scientific association equal the same twenty men, therefore the scientific association is a whist club! What absurdity! Society, however, must not be explained, as by extreme socialism, to mean that it simply exercises the rights of property and denies the rights of the individual against society. Social despotism ignoring the dignity of personality must be rejected. There is something so peculiarly, so absolutely individual, that it can not be shared. The sanctity of personality is the true idea. A society always consists of what individuals give; it is not composed of individuals but of what they contribute of themselves. In the church as a society we have a concentration of the religious force of the members,

though some claim there is more religion outside than inside of the churches. History deals with forces and with persons only so far as they exert them. History is not concerned with the energy inherent in Bismarck, but with the political power he exerted. In a crisis, a society may absorb twice as much of its members as ordinarily. A complete revolution is effected by apprehending it as composed of the forces which persons exert, instead of persons themselves. Persons are by no means eliminated; they are, however, put in the right place. As rays of light can be concentrated in a focus, so can the focus of persons be concentrated. A social thinker has declared the relation of the individual to society is the most difficult problem in the nineteenth century. The solution of the problem will be aided by a careful discrimination between the private and social forces. It is myth that Congress has mind; for its resolutions, discussions, votes are always those of individuals. The piety of a church is nothing but the piety of the members. A philosophic society can not think, but its members can. We must not, however, be led to suppose that individuals are the only reality and that society is nothing. Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship* shows how the great man theory has dominated society; and even in our socialistic era we behold Kierkegaard of Denmark, Ibsen of Norway, and Nietzsche of Germany, arise as the apostles of Individualism. Now, the historic influence of great personalities can not be denied. Ranke claims that great men receive their ideas from the age in which they live and give them back, worked and developed, to this age, their generation. These great men are receptive, but also original, creative.

That was in general, Stuckenberg's treatment of the nature of society. Now, let us hear his views on the meaning and scope of society. Here, too, we give them in substance:

Sociology is the science of society. It is not a receptacle for all kinds of social facts and inquiries, it is not social pathology. And a sociologist need not be a socialist. So-

cology specializes in society, interprets society. But it does not, after the fashion of Comte and Spencer, absorb psychology, physiology, biology. The ultimate problems must be left to philosophy. Sociology must treat society, as botany, as a general science, treats of the principles of plants; as zoology discusses what is common to animals. Sociology is not the only social science. Economics and politics are social sciences—some students of these have tried to absorb sociology in their speciality which is a vain attempt. Sociology is *the* science of society; in every other case we have *a* social science or a science of some social phase. The economist sees political economy in the industries, the sociologist beholds society in them.

Finally, his searching discussion of Social Forces:

Society must have means of revealing itself. Psychophysics or physiological psychology tries to answer the mind-body problem. There is, likewise, a connection between the soul of society and more or less external factors, like geography and race which have an influence on social forces. Heredity cannot be ignored. Neither environment. Is it so that as society develops and the social environment increases in power, individuality will decrease? The Catholic clergyman Döllinger held that Americans are in danger of making a common level the standard of excellence to the depression of individual peculiarity and originality. Public opinion may be as great a despot in a republic as a tyrant on a throne. We have a right to ask how far the ordinary life in the United States, the education in schools, the standard set by the press, by political bossism, is calculated to establish a monotonous level and suppress individuality. Are we intolerant of religious and political peculiarity? Social forces are to society what the sap of the ground is to the tree. At first a private force, it may become a social one.

Stuckenberg gives a table of the social forces: They are ten categories, each one of which he subdivides into other categories showing them in concrete operations. To feel

the import of the ten, one needs his supplementary explanation, which space does not permit to give here: A fuller discussion of them is given in his *Sociology* (1903).

### THE SOCIAL FORCES

Fundamental	{	I. Economic		
		II. Martial, Militarism.	}	Protective
		III. Political		
Constitutional, Physiological	{	IV. Appetitive		
		V. Affectional		
		VI. Recreative		
Cultural	{	VII. Æsthetic		
		VIII. Ethical		
		IX. Religious		
		X. Intellectual		

The use of these for reformatory purposes is valuable. One city of some fifteen thousand inhabitants, we are told, which is a college town and favorably situated for religion, was found on thorough investigation to be dominated first by industrial pursuits, second by pleasure, third and fourth by educational and religious forces. "Is there not," Stuckenberg asks, "room for a great science which determines in what degree industrial pursuits shall minister to the other forces, in order that the true end of life may be attained, the great science of the future?"

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May we add the following for the sake of comparison:

To America, with all its enthusiasm for "Education," an enthusiasm so sweeping that the true meaning of education has been officially wrecked to give way to pedagogical methodology, it has seemed strange that extremely few German universities before 1914 had "Chairs in Education," while they were so numerous in American colleges and universities. The Germans for generations denied that *Pædagogik* was a *Grundwissenschaft* (paedagogy a fundamental science). It was an auxiliary, dependent on many other sciences. Finally Dr. Ernst Kriek and others arrived at the firm conclusion that *Pædagogik* is autonomous and uses other sciences only as auxiliaries.



A glance at the position Sociology occupied about 1900 will show that it had no real home of its own either in Germany or the United States. It was of course in its infancy compared with *Pædagogik*. In Germany both subjects were subdivisions of Philosophy and were taught mainly in chairs of Philosophy, the treatment being theoretical, philosophic, far removed from the pragmatic considerations given them in the lower schools. In *Kultur Der Gegenwart: Systematische Philosophie*, *Pædagogik* is treated by Wilhelm Münch as one of the eight branches of Philosophy, Psychology being one of them, but Sociology being omitted, or rather, being treated in connection with Ethics. Wilhelm Jerusalem's *Einleitung in die Philosophie* (ed. 1909) gives a special section to "Ethics and Sociology." Jerusalem makes the statement that Philosophy of History essentially pursues the same aim as Sociology; he therefore commends Paul Barth for writing his large *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie* (Philosophy of History as Sociology), uniting the two branches into one discipline. The affinity that "Education" has with these branches is again shown in another large volume by Paul Barth, *Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer und geistesgeschichtlicher Bedeutung*, 1911.

In the United States "Education" has run riot this century; it has been on one great, grand hilarious spree, especially after the World War. What all has not been proclaimed in the last decades in the name of "Education," with its two chariot wheels of biologic psychology and mechanistic sociology!? With us it seems almost necessary to have it brought back to its origin, philosophy, for saner treatment. We can perhaps have good right to say about our "Education" what Dr. Bryce said in the first edition of his *Commonwealth* that America had become great not because of its democracy, but in spite of it. Thus, we can say: Not because of our Education, but in spite of it! That is why Stuckenberg's last large manuscript was one on Education. He felt the need of writing on this subject, elucidating it from philosophy and sociology.

And where did Sociology stand with us in 1900?

A glance at the A. L. A. Catalog, 1904, Classification 300 (the number given to Sociology) covering pages 78-107, shows how confused a subject Sociology was in the beginning of our century. What all was not listed under this subject: from "Women and the Alphabet" to "Fairy Tales Far and Near;" from Smile's "Self-help" to "Life at West Point;" from Robert's "Primer of Parliamentary Law" to Machiavelli's "The Prince"—and this together with the thought-exercising works of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* and Stuckenberg's *Sociology*. The list on Sociology was, all in all, a set-up of 604 works, or 8% of the total number of volumes listed (7,520). To philosophy was assigned 143 books; to natural science, 471; to religion, 319; to useful arts, 6; to fiction (leading), 16.3%, or 1226 volumes.

In the midst of such a confusion, Stuckenberg had one great intellectual "creed" which he expressed in 1899: "I believe that the *science of society* is possible. I believe I am on the right track." That is why he went abroad in 1899, went again in 1901, and still again in 1903, when death took him, and when his work *Sociology, or the Science of Society*, in two volumes, went forth from the Putnam Press, New York.

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In October, 1900, we find Stuckenberg giving a series of lectures in the Congregational church at Lewiston, Md., on the *Study of the Community*. He also had audiences in Auburn. He was always a welcome visitor to the regions around Lewiston.

He helped Joseph Cook, shortly before the latter's death, get a correct description of what happened between the latter and Robert G. Ingersoll, who had a verbal clash with Cook, in 1888, in a hotel at Lake George. President G. E. Rankin, author of "God be with you till we meet again," had asked Cook for information as to this. Ingersoll had used unbecoming language to Cook. Both were heavy men,

close to 300 pounds in weight. A physical encounter in the hotel would have happened but for Stuckenberg stepping in between them. Cook later referred to the occasion as the one when he was given a double "D.D." (d - - - d, d - - - y dog) by the overbearing agnostic.

Mrs. Stuckenberg was working for the temperance cause in the Northwest. She called on Archbishop Ireland, and later wrote about a delightful visit with this eminent social worker. In Minneapolis, she called on Professor J. J. Skördalsvold, who had often been at the Stuckenbergs in Berlin, in 1899. This physically large man of expressive face that beamed sunshine wherever he was, a man of fine mentality and a tireless worker for temperance and social uplift, a journalist that wrote in several languages—was greatly pleased to meet a friend from Berlin, where he had studied in the university. She wrote about the meeting to her husband, who always called him "Skörd" for short and now responded: "I am so glad you met Skörd. Give him heartiest greetings."

Stuckenberg not only gave greetings, he received them again and again, from all quarters of the globe. *Lutherischer Kirchenfreund*, February 4, 1901 "greeted" him as one of its founders, and wrote an interesting sketch of him, especially dwelling on the 1860's, and giving the titles of the books he had written. Stuckenberg, on request, had sent the list to Professor J. D. Severinghaus, the editor in Chicago. But the panegyric of this editor did not interest him. "Formerly this might have been something for me, now it interests me but little."

Stuckenberg visited Chicago in January, February, and March, 1901, being invited by the Faculty of McCormick Seminary, to give four lectures on Christian Sociology. The honorarium, \$200, was modest; but Stuckenberg was too much in love with his subject material to mind that; besides, associating and discussing with the theological professors and students was in itself a worth-while item of compensation in his eyes.

In February, 1901, he again lectured at Lewiston, Me. He thought he never had more enthusiastic audiences. "It belongs to best society to attend them." This was under the auspices of the Pastors' Union and the Women's Literary Union.

After words of earnest appreciation from Judge Drew and Professor A. W. Anthony, Stuckenberg closed the meeting by saying in substance: Not what I have said will be valuable to you, but the application you make of it. I have given you my deepest and best. I have not tried to be humorous or speak in the popular vein. My subject has been solid and yet you have made this a delightful series to me and have taught me a valuable lesson by your appreciation and attention. My reward will be that some thought has been aroused which will not end on February eighteenth, 1901.

It is said that Luther had the habit of ending his sermons with the words "God help me." (Legend added more to this, at Worms.) Stuckenberg had also a parting word, a sort of climax which he used at occasions when he was especially aware of a mighty, uplifting response of his audience:

It may not have been original, but perhaps it was. It is found in his papers in two versions:

"Be thou like the first apostles,  
Be thou like heroic Paul.  
If a great thought seek expression  
Speak it boldly, speak it all."

Or,

"If thou hast truth to utter  
Be thou like heroic Paul,  
Speak it boldly, speak it all,  
Face thine enemies, accusers,  
Scorn the prison, rock and rod,  
Speak and leave the rest with God."

Stuckenberg had come to Berlin as professor from Wittenberg College. He was always called professor in Berlin. The Germans say: "Once professor, always professor." And—it "takes something" to make a German university



professor, declared Reinhold Seeberg. College teachers in Germany are not professors. Only the teachers of graduate students are that, though this title occasionally has been bestowed on some brilliant gymnasium teachers in Bavaria. If any American deserved the name of Professor in the German meaning of the word, it was Stuckenberg. This means not that he was faultfinding or pedantic, as some imagine German professors are (and indeed a few of them *are*), but that he was a man of great knowledge professing his "subject" and following its laws of *Eigengesetzlichkeit* without taking orders from any school, party, or creed. He was no mere book worm, but a person with eyes wide open for the demands of life.

He was circumspect, accurate, tolerant, judicious and generous. He always weighed his words, the spoken and the written. But their flux was unhindered as a stream that moves with ease and swiftness. He sought truth and spoke truth as he saw it. He was polite, but impatient of flattery. He wrote as he spoke, and always to the point. In addresses his delivery was fiery, eloquent, the entire person at work. He was a natural orator, without trying to be one. He avoided the common errors of oratory: to exaggerate, to paint with charming, glowing colors at the expense of truth. With him, truth reigned supreme. He was never the slave of his subject, but he was its master, having it under perfect control. He liked to "think things through" as he said.

In conversation he was charming, with an unlimited fund of knowledge of countries, men, and books at his command; and with thousands of experiences to draw from. He was quick of gait, quick of thought, and no laggard in comprehension or judgment. He was always himself, knowing that imitation, no matter when and where exercised, puts man to grief.

His pen was his friend. He never used carbon or typewriter. Of important letters or documents which he wrote—and in committees he was generally the one that phrased and wrote what was to be written—he patiently made a

careful copy in longhand. He preserved all the letters he got, and noted the date with the care of an archivist or as one who carefully plans an autobiography. There is, however, nothing that indicates that he planned anything like that. He cherished no overestimation of his Self; rather it was the other way. He was modest. But he felt hurt when people could not understand him because they would not. Though more American in thought and outlook than most of his theological opponents—for they were mostly all theologians—he felt far more at home, and thought himself far better understood, in Germany than in Ohio,—not because he was a born German, but in spite of it. He had the cosmopolitan bent, not because he was a-nationalistic or anti-nationalistic, but because he was a servant of *Wissenschaft* which knows no bounds save the voice of reason and of conscience. He found this type of *Wissenschaft* best represented in Europe, especially in Germany. And therefore his “dreams” about Europe would not cease.

§ 6. Three Months in London—Return (1901)

On May 3, 1901, Stuckenberg sent a letter to his wife from the ship *Ibernia*, sailing for England. He wanted, as stated, to study in the British Museum. “As usual helping others on the ship with their plans,” he wrote. Prior to leaving home, he left a tender letter to his wife instructing her what to do with his manuscript, “in case the inevitable overtakes me while away.” “What may happen during my absence only the Lord knows.” It began: “My Dear Mary, Darling Wife!” It closed: “God keep you to the end and bless you richly in your grand labor. Thine with all my heart, Wilburn.” He had a presentiment that something was to happen while in England. Fortunately, he stood this trip, too, and returned.

His letters now relate much about the Library, what it has and has not for him; its practice of not lending out books; its backwardness in not having a Journal room, and the people who came to it to study. He was pleased to see

a pamphlet of Sonnenschein's listing four of his books among "Best Books." They were his *Christian Sociology*, *History of the Augsburg Confession*, *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, *Life of Immanuel Kant*. He wrote about a doctor, a retired naval surgeon, very friendly, so much that a friend asked him to look up material for him on some subject in the British Museum, and the good-natured easy going doctor asked Stuckenberg to see whether the material exists. . . . "Think of coming this distance, so busy, and then to do work for one who lives here. *Unverschämt!* It makes me think of a Chicago professor!"

He visited churches, heard Dr. Parker, Canon Scott, Dean Farrar, Hugh Black. He loves the Library. "I wish I could have been here ten years ago." He is busy, he goes to no place of amusement. Ella's opera glass—Ella was his niece—had not been out of the satchel. "I am one of the first in the library in the morning." Sometimes he must change place, because of some masculine perfume bottle sitting next to him. He had, however, outings, saw the Gardens with their thousands of people. He speaks of the twenty-four miles of books in the Library; but many books that he wants, he cannot get, because they are not there. "Much of my best material is in German, such as I cannot get in Boston." "Evidently Sociology is not much pursued here; the late books, especially the foreign ones, I have to cut." *Beweis des Glaubens* had scarcely any leaves cut.

He gets reactions against the Boer war. One Englishman from South Africa sat with him in the omnibus and was delighted to find so many Americans siding with the Boers. An omnibus driver also voiced his objections against going to Africa "to kill men who have never injured them." "But the Government, the Party is in power."

In the middle of June, he writes again: "The German authors are by far the best, the most critical and most suggestive. . . . How eager I am to finish my book, yet the material seems to become more abundant. The theme is so rich, so full of stimuli, so abandoning in problems."

It is cold though; he has to cover his feet with the rug to keep them warm; and he thinks of the house, the yard at Arlington, in Cambridge. They must be lovely. There are many good souls about him, but they do not attract him. He hears that several American preachers are to arrive in London. "Dr. Crothers was reported here lately, but I did not meet him." Dr. Samuel McChord Crother had graduated from Wittenberg College in 1873, then graduated from Princeton, and studied at Union Theological Seminary, was preacher to Harvard University, and living at Cambridge, distinguished as an essayist of note.

He missed Dr. Crother. But he could not miss intrusive library visitors. Six hundred a day was the estimate of the number coming to the library. Some were very poor, some wrote books, and were trying to enlist the sympathies of others. One, probably 90, and likely a man of reputation, was reading *Quo Vadis*, often loud enough to disturb the Cambridge visitor. There were many women at work, they frequently consulted the catalogue of 200 volumes. He determined to hear the Archbishop. He did hear him, and concluded that he was not made Primate of England because of being a great preacher. "The Church Head spoke of four great forces in History: 1) Nature as manifested in the increase and decrease in population, 2) Science, 3) Passion, 4) Conscience." From time to time Stuckenberg sends greetings to friends. But "our sociability depends on you," he writes to his wife.

The Fourth he celebrated by eating a pigeon in a restaurant. The pigeon reminded him of the American Eagle. Some Americans were celebrating at Hotel Cecil, the most aristocratic House in London. He met Dr. J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, and his wife and children. Breasted had been a member of the Church Council in Berlin, when Stuckenberg resigned, and was working for his doctor's degree at that time. He was now busy with his hieroglyphics. Stuckenberg also met London's police, in the form of a policeman who in vain begged a bribe, adding that it was not lawful, but nobody would see it. He



was much depressed at receiving the news about Joseph Cook's death, and wrote in the *Homiletic Review* about his associations with him. News came to him about the Convention of the General Synod. It did not inspire him with great hope; but a report of Dr. Wolf, which was not received, he could heartily endorse.

Stuckenberg differed from the author of "American Commonwealth" respecting the use of German scholarship. Bryce said, American scholars were so dependent on German authorities, that they even imitated their careless style! But Stuckenberg's judgment was that "English scholarship is evidently confining itself too much to English works." He again felt constrained to say: "Much of the best material I get is from German authors. They are more thorough and see more sides of a subject. . . . I think the French—he had become quite familiar with this language—are doing more in Sociology than the English. Spencer seems to be followed by stagnation on the subject."

Clergymen were not the most welcome library visitors, he learned. A library attendant said: "They are accustomed to special deference in their parish, and so want special privileges wherever they go." Some came to the library to get their sermons. Some of them seemed studious, but "I fear that intellectual giants are scarce among them."

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In August, 1901, Stuckenberg returned to Cambridge, much satisfied with his work in London. Even when abroad he promptly prepared his monthly contribution to the columns of the *Homiletic Review*. In the beginning of the year, he commented in this periodical on Virchow, of the Faculty of Medicine in Berlin, and Hæckel, the Zoologist in Jena, who could not agree with each other about Evolution, though neither cared for Christianity. He mentioned Hæckel six months later, in writing about his *Riddle of the Universe*, a jumble of popular materialistic philosophy, that Dr. Wundt scorned, and of which Dr. Paulsen was ashamed. About the same time Stuckenberg also com-

mented at some length on Harnack's *What is Christianity*, sixteen lectures, which caused much stir in the theological world. He also commented favorably—all in the *Homiletic Review*—on the Leipzig Professor Otto Kirn's rejection of the orthodox inspiration theory. The present writer was then himself a student of Kirn, and witnessed, at some distance, the impact of Harnack's lectures, which in Leipzig, at least, was less felt than that of Reinhold Seeberg's *Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, delivered in Berlin one year later.

§ 7. Sought for Advice—Remembered at Laying of Corner Stone of American Church in Berlin—Annotations of Mrs. Stuckenberg—Leslie's Weekly—In an Accident—Friction at Alma Mater—Supplies Pulpit of General Council Church—An Apologia pro vita sua—Preparations for Going to Europe

Helping others, if not an innate something, had become a second nature to Stuckenberg. He had helped so many and in most various ways during his long stay in Germany. His reputation for being able and willing to help remained with him after his return to the United States. He tried to help all of the Lutheran institutions by letters or lectures; he tried to induce groups for study, and he never refused to help non-Lutheran institutions when he was asked to do so. His remuneration was small. Audiences that really listened constituted his "reward." He was the teacher, born to share the treasures of his mind with others. He had planned to found a graduate school of theology in Cambridge, since the theological seminaries though professional, it seemed to him, were too much on the order of the undergraduate school to warrant the training needed by a minister. The training received was generally too unscientific, too practical, and yet so impractical that ministers would graduate without knowing anything about the science of society. If he could not realize such a school—and a large sum of money was needed for that in spite of the fact that Boston and Cambridge had most wonderful libraries—he planned to make a summer school of his Cam-

bridge home for the most promising students of Lutheran colleges. He hoped to offer free hospitality to a group, conducting them or guiding them into the privileges afforded by the summer schools of Cambridge, the Boston Library, the historic association of the surrounding region, together with his own instruction. One of the chief things that deterred him was the financing of such an undertaking. Despite the most frugal management and manner of living, he was not possessed of an adequate competence for such a project. The Lutherans in America were too divided to appreciate such an undertaking, and were having difficulties in adequately supporting their own schools, not having had the advantage of being trained in voluntary giving as had the Protestants in New England. Moreover, Stuckenberg made no ado about his plan. It remained a cherished dream. To compensate for this he traveled from college to college delivering lectures in what had become one of his most favorite subjects, giving the rest of his time to creative work, in the Library.

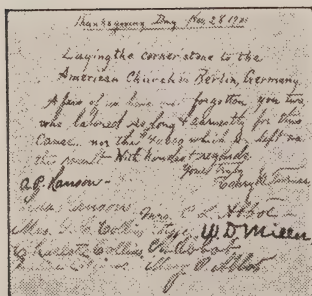
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Letters were coming continually to him, wanting his advice on this or that, his opinion, his help. And these letters came not only from undergraduates. An example: Dr. E. D. Easton, President of Beloit College, 1886-1905, wrote to him as one whose name he a long time had associated in his mind with Christian scholarship. The western college president desired to attend the University of Berlin for a year, and liked to know who, in Stuckenberg's estimation, were most valuable to become acquainted with; for instance, Harnack, Delbrück, Stöcker. He was to sail for Europe in October, after attending the meeting of the American Board and the Yale Bicentenary. He had called on Stuckenberg, but had not found him home, and therefore he wrote. Inquiries of this kind were very numerous and necessitated much correspondence on the part of Stuckenberg.





PLACE OF WORSHIP OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN BERLIN, UP TO 1894  
JUNCKERSTR. 5—6



TOKEN OF CORNER STONE LAYING  
1901



AMERICAN CHURCH IN BERLIN TODAY



On Thanksgiving Day, in 1901, Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg were given tribute for their work in the American Church during their long stay in Berlin, by Ambassador Dr. Andrew D. White, in his address at the ceremony of breaking ground for the church building in Berlin. Dr. White laid the corner stone. Dr. W. M. Miller wrote the Stuckenbergs that a fitting testimonial of Stuckenberg's services and those of Mrs. Stuckenberg in the work of building the American Church was added to the photographs of the two and to other things, and laid in the box at the laying of the corner stone. Newspapers gave publicity to this, and the Church itself got out a neatly printed pamphlet of 26 pages, *The Book of the Beginnings of the American Church in Berlin*, 1902.

Mrs. Stuckenberg made several annotations to this pamphlet, in her own handwriting. According to these, it contains a number of mistakes. She states that the American Church in Berlin got its name long after its beginning as a mission, and that this mission was older than the book stated. Governor Wright had not founded the chapel, as the book seemed to claim. It existed before Governor Wright came to the embassy in Berlin. She questions the statement that Dr. Phillips Brooks and President MacLean *alternated* in conducting the services in their days in Berlin. Preaching was then irregular. She also questions an alleged resolution of 1876 about getting a permanent pastor. She makes it plain that Stuckenberg was *acting pastor* from 1880 to 1887, when he became the regular pastor, though she grants, of course, that the church became an organized body in 1887. She notes that 11,000 instead of 3,109 Mks. were collected in Berlin at the beginning of the movement. She denies that in Stuckenberg's days interest on the first \$10,000 could be used for current expenses, though this was the case in Rev. Dickie's days until the cessation of such practice was compelled. The donors of the money had no such understanding with regard to the use of money. She states that the appeal to the magistracy in Berlin to permit the erection of the

church in the centre of Lützow Platz is erroneous, since this Platz was then a woodyard. She corrects the statement that Mr. D. P. Corey, of Boston, gave \$1,000 for a Memorial Pew for his son. It was young Corey's own gift; he requested at the night he died his father to send it. Corey had studied a long time in Berlin. The Ladies' Union was founded in 1884, not in 1886. The hall in which the Church met was pronounced "sordid" by Ambassador Wright. Mrs. Stuckenberg, however, observes: "Not to us." She tells that Merle d'Aubigne, son of the Historian, and student at Berlin, a regular attendant at "our services, expressed surprise at the luxury of the Americans, who required carpet on the floors of their church meeting place." She explains that the one that endowed the first pew was not Mr. Wm. M. Griscom, but Countess Waldersee. The collecting of the scattered church subscriptions, attributed to Col. L. P. Siebert, received the comment: "He didn't do much of that. I did."

In the beginning of the year 1902, Stuckenberg was again invited to Lewiston, Me. *Poverty and Pauperism* was the theme for six lectures, along University Extension lines. Stuckenberg had to promise to give one of them. "The people here . . . would regard no course in sociology as complete without Dr. Stuckenberg," wrote Frank H. Chase, the Secretary. Stuckenberg was also invited to speak at a dinner given by the "Radical Club," Providence, R. I. Further, at the request of the editor of "Leslie's Weekly," he wrote an article on *Prince Henry's Visit to the United States*. The article was given a place on the editorial page, and incidentally tells about Stuckenberg's discussion of American conditions with Count Caprivi, who was Chancellor of the German Empire, 1890-94. They had met in the home of Ambassador Phelps.

In May, we find him attending the 114th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New York City, in the capacity of a "journalist." He met a number of church leaders. "Many subjects arise which I should like to discuss, but life is so short. How overwhelmingly great the

work required and how few the workers," he wrote.

In June, he was hurt in an accident. He was boarding a subway car. The conductor must have seen him, for he was stopping the car. But as Stuckenberg was about to enter it, the bell was rung twice. The car moved off rapidly, and he was violently thrown and stunned; but first after the physician had attended to his wounds and other injuries, did he realize the situation and how the accident occurred. His face about the left eye was badly cut and bruised. The whole left side was very painful with numerous bruises. A front tooth was broken off, which he first noticed several hours after the accident. He had, as a result, to cancel a course of lectures. He addressed a letter of complaint to the Accident Department of the Elevated Road, stating the case somewhat after the language used above, and explained his readiness to give other particulars. He wanted simply to call attention to the danger to which people are subject. He also mentioned two others who met similar accidents, from the same cause. However, Stuckenberg did not send his letter, though friends said he should. For fear it might bring calamity to the motor man or conductor, he refused to report the matter, or to prosecute, as some urged.

However, this accident was not negligible in what was to transpire in the spring following.

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In June, 1902, he received a letter from Newport, Ky., where the Synod was holding a meeting. It reported, and the *Springfield Sun*, the letter said, verified the facts by an article about matters in the college circle at Wittenberg. Dr. Ort, who had finally taken the side of Dr. Gotwald in that trial, was now receiving opposition from Dr. Bauslin. As a consequence, Dr. Ort had been unsettled to the extent that he lost the presidency in 1900. However, he did not give up the ideas he had taught as president, and was much in favor with the students. In fact at commencement, the students preferred Dr. Ort to his successor. The Board



now made an investigation, but dropped the charge preferred against Dr. Ort that he had had a hand in the treatment of President Ruthrauff (1900-1902). Students brought out plainly, the letter said, that there was factionalism in the Faculty, an effort having been made to oust Dr. Ort. A bad feeling was prevalent, in general. Dr. Ort charged openly, that he had been "set aside," not "called upon." This occurred "in open Board meeting in response to B . . . 's insistence that he and Ort were 'best of friends' and 'no feeling,' etc. But they would not let Dr. Ort proceed. The students came out flatfooted and said it was current that Ort was to be ousted. It was spoken of in town, among the faculty, Board members."

The letter further stated that Ort was "now on top." Of 100 students, 99 were for him. "The schemers who attacked him have had a tremendous backset. Dr. Prince is also now marked by the 'hypers', and there is hope for the college now." Some had been trying to "burden the Seminary with Dr. Grau," but the "Bauslin-Grau combination was overwhelmingly defeated." Friends of the school were realizing that the man who is to be elected the next president cannot be a "putty man." Dr. Kopp, Dr. Grenoble, Dr. Waltz had done much to clear the atmosphere. ". . . . You see the fruits of this College to an unholy purpose are being gathered. They are reaping now their own harvest."

The news given in this letter was substantially confirmed by another letter, from one of the members of the Faculty. It dwelt on the two parties facing each other from older days; but now, the letter said, the "high church brethren are fighting among themselves." The letter closes, "There is not as much harmony in our Faculty as I supposed, when I wrote you. It seems that you understood the situation better than I did."

Yes; Stuckenberg understood.

Wittenberg College then, was perhaps faring no worse and no better than many other contemporary denominational schools, but it was paying an excessive penalty for



inbreeding. Where inbreeding rules, the spirit of *Peer Gynt*, which Henrik Ibsen has masterly depicted, gets the upper hand. The status of Wittenberg College in this respect, about the year 1900, is well pictured by Rev. Lloyd C. Douglas, author of *Magnificent Obsession* and *Green Light*, now so generally shown on the screen. Dr. Douglas graduated from Wittenberg College in 1900 and from its theological department in 1903. In the paper *Forward*, December 26, 1936 (Crawfordsville, Ind.), he writes:

"So when I went to Wittenberg College in Ohio I had to wash dishes for my board, unless I could make my music pay. Arrangements were made with the music department to take organ lessons in exchange for my services on Saturday in drumming up music students. In three months' time an unusual master of the organ gave me sufficient knowledge to enable me to hold a job as church organist during my preparatory years, and my seminary years!

"What a solemn young parson I was when I began work in the Lutheran Church at North Manchester, Indiana! I was afraid to do anything human in the pulpit. But I did give myself some vent through the essays I wrote there for such papers as 'The Continent' and 'The Congregationalist'. If I were to follow my own preference, I would still be writing essays. But I realize that by fiction I can reach more people.

"Pastorates in Lancaster, Ohio, and Washington, D. C., were followed by years as Director of Religious Education at the University of Illinois. What a revelation came then! At last I saw an institution where I met famous people from all over the world instead of the intellectual impoverishment of an institution that fed on the product of its own classroom. Such inbreeding may be necessary sometimes, but it is so disheartening, so narrowing!"

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A pendant to scholastic inbreeding is the "I-am-holier-than-thou spirit," which Dean Farrar used to call it. Nothing was so far removed from Stuckenberg as this spirit.

Religiously he was glad to commune with anybody who was in earnest about wanting Christ. He did not inquire about creed. With Catholics he came in little contact, though he praised their social work and though the Stuckenberg family did more perhaps for a Catholic *Schmerzenskind* in Berlin than for anybody else. It was a work of Christian love. Catholics were forbidden to have ecclesiastical fellowship with Protestants, and therefore as matter of course, Stuckenberg's denominational companionship was Protestant. He had little sympathy for the Episcopalian creed, but was a great admirer of many of the evangelical clergy in the Anglican Church of the type of Dean Farrar. He had also little sympathy, as has been shown, for those who wanted to "Lutheranize" the General Synod on the assumption that it, by virtue of its few confessions and preference of non-liturgical worship, was deficient in Lutheranism. He therefore cared little for the General Council's confessional platform. It was too rigid, too Rome-ward, in his eyes. However, this implied no aloofness where his services were wanted. He made a decisive sacrifice to a church which adhered to the General Council by preaching to it in the winter months of 1902-1903. It was located in Dorchester of Boston. The young church had lost its first pastor and was finding difficulty in securing another on whom the congregation would unite. When the church officers appealed to Stuckenberg for help lest the members become scattered, he at great risk to his health that cold winter cheerfully supplied their pulpit. When his own preaching was interrupted by an attack of grippe, he secured as substitute the General Synod missionary L. I. Uhl of India, who was on furlough and in Boston for study. It was a long trolley ride from home to the church, more than an hour. Preaching threw him into violent perspiration. After his long ride home that winter he arrived with clothing drenched. Grippe seized him, but, even after he had recovered his usual strength from his late attack, he proceeded again to supply the devoted little St. Marks Lutheran Church until they elected a pastor.

He never attempted to interfere with the relation or the loyalty of this church to the general Body that had planted it in Boston.

For years Stuckenberg was a member of the East Pennsylvania Synod of the General Synod. Dr. A. H. F. Fischer, its President and Stuckenberg's friend, desirous of having him attend Synod, sent him a letter, inviting him to accept offices.

This correspondence elicited from Stuckenberg a reply, touchingly revealing how he desired the fellowship of his Lutheran brethren, but how distant they were to him and his wife. She was, as has been stated, working for the W. C. T. U. cause also in churches. Many Lutheran pastors, grossly mistaking her efforts as "salvation through the law," regarded it as a real mark of Christian liberty to empty the wine glass. To refuse to partake looked suspicious. These pastors did not seem to appreciate work for civic liberty.

In calm, clear, unimpassioned language he tells what has been his aim in life: as a minister and a scholar. One cannot but note the tone of sadness in the letter, but he does not blame persons. Like Dr. Albert Hauck of Ranke's school, he places the blame for lack of coöperative effort not on individuals, but on conditions, circumstances. There is something of grandeur in this quiet deliverance, uniting truth and dignity in all unaffected simplicity,—an *Apologia pro vita sua* in miniature.

On September 2, 1902, he writes to Dr. Fischer, heartily thanking him for his letter, and stating that it is doubtful whether he can be at the next meeting of the Synod. His research work the last years, taking him abroad, has been expensive, "without any hope that my book will compensate me." The place of the Synod's meeting was far from Cambridge, involved greater expense than usual; and he was not willing to let the Synod pay his hotel bill. Even if he should come, he wrote, it would be better to put some minister that has a charge, in Dr. Baum's place. "That would likely please the brethren better." Then he goes on:

" . . . I cherish no delusions respecting my position. My isolation is not due to location but to my speciality.

"I am trying to save Sociology from its materialistic and agnostic basis, and am told that I am not doing the work of the Church.

"I am trying to promote the Christian social movement in the spirit of Christ, and according to the teachings of the New Testament, and I am told that I am not doing the work of the Church.

"I am fighting revolutionary socialism and anarchism, and am denounced as a socialist.

"Other denominations open their churches and institutions and heartily welcome me. One of my books will soon appear in Rome, in Italian. But my own Church is closed to me because I am not doing its work!

"Yet, I remain in that Church, as best I can, because outside of the great principles on which Luther based the Reformation, there is no place for me.

"Never before have I written thus to any one, and it may be a mistake to write so now. But your kind letter seems to require some such answer.

"I have tried to secure the endowment for a lectureship in Sociology in Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg), in order to have a place in my Church where I could give her my best efforts. I have been intensely desirous of serving the Church, but could not think of giving up the specialty of many years."

" . . . Mrs. Stuckenberg feels the isolation as much as I do. She aided me in establishing the Woman's Missionary Society of the General Synod and learned to love deeply our Church. Both of us are very busy in fruitful fields, but not in immediate connection with our Church. . . . I have not the least fault to find with the Brethren, whom I miss much more than they miss me. I believe we are getting out of the confessional crisis and look hopefully into the future. So let us blame circumstances, not men if we are so placed that we cannot coöperate—if I can not give



all my energies to the causes which the Brethren promote, and if they can not sympathize with me in my work. . . . I hope the Synod's meeting will be blessed. I follow its proceedings with deepest interest. . . ."

Several letters now passed between the two men, showing Rev. Fischer's great regard for Stuckenberg. The Synod, Rev. Fischer said, would insist on paying his expenses. He would have Stuckenberg put on the Examination Committee. He hoped to have him elected delegate to the next General Synod meeting, where he "could watch things better than some of the others who will be elected." "Our friends, the enemy, have a wholesale fear of you; and Dr. Bauslin and Wolf need a curbing, and you did it so nicely at Mansfield. . . . I for one (and I know that I am one among many) feel that you are doing a splendid work for Christianity and our own dear Church along your special line, notwithstanding that most eminent (?) New York Lutheran (Episcopal) J. B. Remensnyder . . . to the contrary. . . . He may control the N. Y. and N. J. Synod, but he has no standing in the East Pennsylvania Synod and not much more in the General Synod. . . .<sup>25</sup> The *Lutheran World* suspended for a week in order to collect unpaid bills. . . . Dr. Ort has asked to write again for the *Observer*, under the name 'Occasional', coming back to his old friends. The long lane has a turn."

Stuckenberg replied, September 17: He would like to commune with the Brethren, but could not be present this time, though he hoped that hereafter he could be at the conventions. He had no personal ambition to go as a delegate to Baltimore. Some good man should go who could watch. At the last meeting a most unfortunate resolution had been smuggled in. "The crisis has come." "The *Observer* is true as steel; we have reasons to be hopeful." He trusted and prayed that the richest blessing might be bestowed on the Synod. "My absorbing specialty makes me all the more anxious for the welfare and efficiency of the Church."

Considerable correspondence went on in the summer of 1902 between Professor F. Squillace in Italy and Stuckenberg. The Italian sociologist wanted a list of Stuckenberg's books to put in the Preface of the Sociology he was getting out. As Stuckenberg had stated in the letter to Rev. Fischer, a translation of one of his works into Italian had been arranged for.

Stuckenberg's *magnum opus* "Sociology, or the Science of Human Society," in two volumes, was being printed by Putnam's. He was reading proof in the spring of 1903, and expected to go to London as soon as all the galley proofs had been read. He had been laboring for years on this work.

From time to time, over a stretch of several years, he had also been working on a large manuscript, *Purpose and Method of Study*. He had presented it to Holt & Co. with a view to having it published. This firm returned it. The return of it did not ruffle his calm, since he was used to the ways of publishers. He kept working on the manuscript in London.

This work, in process of revision, caused that Stuckenberg had to decline the solicitation of the son of Dr. Abbot, in Berlin, to write for his paper *Deutschland*. Stuckenberg liked it and gave his promise to write for it when he was less busy.

The spring of 1903 had been set by both Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg for visiting Germany.

Mrs. Stuckenberg, who had to be present at the Temperance Conference at Bremen to represent "The New Voice," edited by John G. Woolley, Chicago, and was later to attend a conference at Geneva, was obliged to precede her husband to Europe, since he had still some more proof to read. She left in March, 1903. Stuckenberg was to sail April 23 as second class passenger on the Mayflower. During the interval he completed his contribution to the June number of the *Homiletic Review*, and an article on the *Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society*, which appeared in the "Lutheran Observer", 1903. This article anticipated a request made to him by Mrs. Schaffer. He hoped

it would in part meet her wishes. Though a Woman's Society, he was the founder of it, assisted primarily by his wife. His account in the *Observer* is the authentic one respecting the origin of this large Society of the General Synod. Possible discrepancies between this account and what has been stated before in this book may be present, since he had no sources for this work in England. If so, they are due to lapsus memoriae, which is easily possible in spanning a stretch of 25 years. Bismarck's *Erinnerungen*, as is well known, is an example of this. Stuckenberg suggested to his wife that either she or Mrs. Schaffer write the history of the Society.

His letter of April 20, three days before sailing, breathed relief: "The last plate proof came and I feel free to go. What a relief. . . . How I hope for the invigorating sea-breeze! I look for new strength, new life. I doubt whether I ever needed recreation and recuperation more." On the day before sailing, he writes that he is in "splendid condition"; the house had received coal for the winter, and was to be taken care of by a friend. In a postscript, he says "Dr. Stock is likely to be McKnight's successor," at Gettysburg College; an "excellent, warm friend of mine." These words were evidently the last he wrote in America. He sailed for England the next day.

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## CHAPTER XIX

### The Last Journey

(1903)

ON SUNDAY, May 5, he was settled in London in a location more desirable than the one he had on his former visit. He described the voyage as pleasant and the boat as quite steady. He had suffered from headache, but escaped seasickness. The hostess was ready to receive his wife any time she arrived. As stated, she had gone before him to Germany to take part in temperance conferences.

We soon find him at work in the Library, where he was, he writes, more cordially received than at the first time. One of the incidents he reports in a letter was a remarkably dark day, the likes of which he had never seen. He had to quit his work in the Library. It was so dark that he could not see to read. Not before the lights came—and the clock determined that—could he resume reading.

He is not aware that he is not yet a well man. He started a grate fire in his room one morning to get his feet warm, but without success. But later he reports, "I am in a much better condition than when I left home and my mind works with the former vigor." He reads the *Times*, hears Rev. Campbell, successor to Dr. Parker, and writes every two or three days to his wife, sends and receives greetings from friends on the continent, rejoices at the cordiality she receives, gives her advice to take care of her health, not to overwork, but to get recreation. He sleeps well, goes to bed early, reads leisurely, but with profit. Thus far, however, he could have found what he wanted in the Boston Library. He did not plan to go to the continent, he could accomplish more in London, gain health and strength. When his wife tells but little in her letters



about her work, he fears that she has not the vigor which he has.

Among amusing things, he reports about an encounter he had with a big dog. Somehow he and the dog collided, Stuckenberg falling down on the pavement upon the animal, which ran off howling. Stuckenberg said, "No wonder," when he felt the sudden impact of a six feet fellow weighing 200 pounds! He was not hurt, he assured his wife.

The days pass without excitement. Then comes a letter from him telling that Dr. M. Valentine had resigned from the presidency of Gettysburg Seminary, and Dr. Eli Huber as teacher of Bible in Gettysburg College. "What openings for first class men." I hope they will get good men. What a comfort that I have no more desire than hope of a position. I do not think that Gettysburg wants me any more than Wittenberg, and I am sure that I know of no place that I should accept. Time only confirms my conviction that I am in the right place, the place in which I can accomplish most and which is congenial to me."<sup>26</sup>

He could not have been in a "more right" place than he was. The Presidency at the Seminary could perhaps have been just as "right." The Presidency at Gettysburg College would be an uncertain tenure, depending too much on financial returns for the school. The chair in Bible was too elementary for a man of Stuckenberg's type; in most colleges its role, alas, has been that of Cinderella. He had talked about a chair in Sociology at Gettysburg, but even as late as 1903 there was neither a chair in Philosophy nor a chair in History at Gettysburg. Moreover, at that time, Gettysburg was manned practically by Gettysburg graduates. Its inbreeding was just as acute as that at Wittenberg. To Dr. Hefelbower, who became President of Gettysburg in 1904 belongs the honor of breaking the old tradition and inaugurating many beneficial scholastic changes. He held Dr. Stuckenberg in great esteem. Finally, did any one know that Stuckenberg was at all available, and therefore care or dare approach him? Dr. Richard had in letters visualized Dr. Stuckenberg as the fifth professor of

theology at the Seminary. But Richard's own views on confessional subscription and on liturgy—much the same as those of Stuckenberg—were challenged to the extent that he thought his property could serve the University of Virginia better than Gettysburg Seminary and accordingly willed it to the former. He died in 1909.<sup>27</sup>

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But—let us return to Stuckenberg's research work in London. Not knowing in detail what the plans of his wife were in Germany, and the time for her coming to London, he wrote to her, May 14, that he would be willing to pause in the investigation of the *Purpose and Method of Study* in order "to learn something of your purpose and method." On the day following, he reports the arrival of six letters, some money—and states that he is in "excellent health." He went to the great collections of the Museum when tired of library work. "My complete recovery from the grippe greatly rejoices me. The next thing will be the prevention of grippe itself."

Two days later, he writes to his wife: "Does Berlin attract you for residence? I suppose not; it does not attract me specially, though if once there, we could make it home-like. London does not win me for residence. But we can easily run over for weeks or months." He writes May 25: "So far as it appears to me now, Cambridge presents most temptations, with frequent visits to Europe." He speaks of having met Mr. Turner and Dr. Rubinkam, dining with one and walking with the other.

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Then the unexpected happened. He wrote May 26 a postal card to his wife, in what she called "strangely poor handwriting." It read:

"Fine time Sunday evening with Mr. Turner and Howard. Mr. Turner is very cordial, and anxious to meet you. We discussed social themes mostly. Am wondering whether your plans have matured yet. No news from America.

Weather clear, but cold at night. When do you leave Berlin? Where shall I address you? Long walk last evening—music in Hyde Park. Have just had dinner and am ready for the Library again—write this at the Post Office. *Viel Glück und Segen. Sei guten Mutes.* Tuesday, *Dein Wilburn.*"

These were the last words written by him to his wife. They were cheery. One hour after they had been received by his wife, at the Morgans, Kleist Street 11, in Berlin, she received a telegram from him: "I am sick with laryngitis. Come soon." This was at eleven. At twelve she was on the train for London.

Mrs. Stuckenberg had company on the train: Mr. and Mrs. Louis Magee from Berlin. They cared for her in lovely ways and did not tell her how terrible the disease might prove. Arrived at London, they allowed her to hasten to 25 Torrington Square to her husband's quarters. They followed with the baggage. She expected to see her loved one and minister to him. Miss McPhail broke the awful news as gently as she could. "The summons from the King, whose business requires haste" had come to him. Physicians had tried to save his life by an operation, during which he died.

To Mrs. Stuckenberg he, though no more among the living, looked—in the language of her pencil jottings as they were dictated by her grief-stricken soul—"so natural and peaceful." "I could not believe the worst. It was only by degrees the proof came." Dr. and Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant came and invited her to their house. Mrs. L. M. Stevens and Mrs. Anna Gordon, W. C. T. U. women, came. She went to Chants, 49 Gower Street. But Mrs. Stevens and Mrs. Gordon invited her to 20 Park Lane. She returned to 25 Torrington Square to stay all night alone with her loved one. Flowers arrived from friends. His room was well furnished, the outlook rather pleasant. She had to pack his things to take with her. Mrs. Katherine Lente Stevenson arrived and went to Chants. Mr. Hazelton and Mr. Turner, who had been a member of the Berlin Church,

came also. Stuckenberg's body was carried out between five and six, May 30. Mrs. Stuckenberg returned to 20 Park Lane. She had to see about Coroner's papers at the undertaker's. Mr. Turner advanced money for her.

She was alone and not alone. Mrs. Heard came, and also Mrs. Bullock, Mrs. Oberholtzer and Mr. Hazelton. Dispatches had been sent, on the 29th, to the Associated Press and the Paris Herald and to relatives in America. The Berlin people knew what had transpired, from the dispatches sent after her.

On Sunday, May 31, she remained at 20 Park Lane all day. Miss Bessie Gordon, Mrs. Hunt of Portland, Mr. and Mrs. Clark of Ohio called, also Professor W. D. McClintock of Chicago University, who had been with Stuckenberg the previous Friday. She talked of Stuckenberg to McClintock, went to the undertaker and saw the body for the last time.

On June 1, she was out all morning with Dr. Chant and Miss McPhail. It was Whitsuntide Monday. Everybody was on holiday. She could not remain alone at the undertakers, since Mrs. Stevens and Miss Gordon were leaving for Geneva. Mrs. John M. Lile, 15 Russel Square, kindly invited her through Mrs. Stevenson. Both Mrs. Stevenson and Mrs. Heard did all they could for her. At the Lile's she could be much alone in her room, up four flights.

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The question about the disposal of the body was answered only through a great inner struggle. She could not take it to Berlin, nor leave it in London. Neither could she think of its being subjected to the rough passage of the Atlantic. Cremation was the other alternative. She knew that the body of Frances Willard had been cremated, and she consulted several about the matter. Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Gordon, Mrs. Stevenson—all concurred in cremation. Dr. W. M. Miller, of Berlin, joined in advising it; he stated he wished it for himself. The Magees, Mr. Turner, and Professor McClintock seconded the attitude taken by others. Rev. F. B. Meyers, who came at the request of Anna Gor-



don to pray with Mrs. Stuckenberg, was informed that cremation was intended. He made no dissent, not even by a change of expression.

Cremation was a much debated question in those days, with the emphasis on the negative. Arguments advanced by favorers of cremation from the standpoint of hygiene and economics were dismissed as groundless or as motivated by egotism and branded as a step backward to heathenism. With Mrs. Stuckenberg, piety toward the memory of her husband was the major consideration. She "was so alone" in the midst of friends. With no glad heart, but with a brave one, she chose cremation.

As to what followed, especially the funeral, we shall let two W. C. T. U. women speak.

Katherine Lente Stevenson wrote in *Our Message* (Boston), July 8, 1903: "Our later stay in London was overshadowed by the great sorrow occasioned by the death of Professor Stuckenberg. Of this sad event I have already written full particulars to the editor of *Our Message*. It was a joy even in the midst of sorrow to be able to minister to Mrs. Stuckenberg, as I was enabled to do through the great kindness of my dear English friend Mrs. John M. Lile. I was a guest in her home, to which Mrs. Stuckenberg was also invited during those heartrending days. I know every Massachusetts white ribboner who loves Mrs. Stuckenberg—and who does not?—will thank, from their hearts, the gracious English lady. . . . Mrs. Stuckenberg is bearing up most bravely. She came with us to Geneva and will take up the threads of our work just as soon as she can adjust herself to the sadly new condition. I know you will all pray for her, and also, for Miss Slack, our World's Secretary, whose mother was called home. . . . Surely Miss Willard was right when she said, 'There never was such women as our women.'"

In the same paper Miss Elizabeth Gordon writes a Special: "I have just returned from the simple service held for Professor Stuckenberg at Golder's Green. A young

Episcopal clergyman read the service, we following in the books provided.

"There was a small company, but in imagination I could see the great host of those in heaven and earth who were in fellowship with the glorified spirit. Mrs. Stuckenberg looked at times as if she were already living with him in the radiant joys of the unseen.

"Miss Sarah Hall, musical director of the Maine W. C. T. U. . . . sang . . . and, in closing, the hymn 'Face to Face.'

"When all had left but the white ribbon women, we clasped hands and sang as best we could, for the tears that choked our voices, 'God be with you till we meet again,' including in our thought the one whose visible presence was gone—for the casket covered with the Stars and Stripes and the beautiful floral tributes had just been removed. Then, still standing, Miss Stevenson led us in a touching, fervent petition full of faith in the life unseen.

"The lady at whose house Professor Stuckenberg was staying, said all in her family felt they had lost a personal friend, though Professor Stuckenberg had been with them only three weeks 'He was so kind and lovely.'"

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Stuckenberg's last visit to London had been short. He had arrived May 5. He passed away May 28. He was laid away June 2, 1903.

He died in his full mental vigor; but physically he was not what he believed himself to be. Mr. Nathaniel Rubinkam, staying at Bonn, but lecturing in Chicago, had been visiting with him in London. He saw him for the first time on May 18 in the Library, and was glad to discover his familiar face. They talked about what had happened in Boston, where they had met five or six years before. Rubinkam relates that he was very much encouraged to see a man so much his senior with such a hold on life and its ambitions. Stuckenberg spoke of his *Sociology* in press as a culminating effort. He said he worked with a hat on in the Reading Room (where "you do as you please")

because he was not over a severe attack of grippe. He coughed frequently, and Rubinkam suggested a temporary relief "Spink's Red Balsam." But Stuckenberg feared the trouble was chronic and the medicine of no use, but then said he was going to purchase it. They took walks several times, and had dinner together. He said, he thought Cambridge would be the center of both his and his wife's activities. He felt satisfied about his financial situation, "told me again about his Humboldt Desk, the Goethe album, his library at Cambridge." "He did not go out much in evenings, as he felt very tired."

Stuckenberg had heard the call from Beyond and had responded. Though soldier and minister, he was temporarily laid away without military escort or ecclesiastic procession—in a foreign land. The last rites would no doubt have been different in America. And yet what might have been the rites in America, was compensated for by that little band of W. C. T. U. workers that ministered to Mrs. Stuckenberg in her sorrow, attended the funeral, prayed, clasped hands and sang with choked voices under tears. The white ribboners were social workers, too; not teaching "salvation by works" but working for social conditions that *indirectly* could pave the way for the Gospel, and be a schoolmaster to Christ. They were not theologians; but they had burning hearts.

Mrs. Stuckenberg remained, and so did Mr. Hazleton until the cremation was accomplished. Then they went out. As she thought of the kind official, beheld the sunshine, felt the wind, took a little nourishment, walked in the lane, talked about Wilburn, his aims, his spirit, his work—she exulted in him. With Mr. Hazleton she drove back.

The reaction set in. She had thought she could stay in London and work alone after all had gone. But she sickened at the report of boarding places and realized that it would not do to remain alone in that big city. Telegrams from America and Germany came, and more friends arrived. But on June 5 she left England for Geneva, cross-

ing a stormy channel and boarding a special train. In Geneva she called on friends, Pastor Hoffman, of the German Lutheran Church, who knew her husband; Mr. and Mrs. Phildius and others. She got pleasant quarters, heard a fine French sermon, and attended Professor Bucher's lecture at the German section of Blue Cross; he, too, knew her husband. She heard the report of Agnes Slack, who had come from her mother's funeral, a pathetic little figure in her black dress—and her sad, yet brave face. Miss Slack was the World's Secretary of the W. C. T. U. movement. Here was mutual sympathy. Mrs. Stuckenberg also attended the impressive Memorial service at the convention, where Miss Hall of Maine sang "I shall see him face to face," written by Herbert Johnson, of Boston, a friend of the Stuckenbergs. Mrs. Stuckenberg attended the Executive Committee meeting, and gave her report in the afternoon.

With such friends and in such work, she found comfort. But the death of Stuckenberg—what a profound personal loss to her, his wife and intellectual companion for thirty-four years.



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## CHAPTER XX

### In Memoriam

THE FACT OF STUCKENBERG'S DEATH was hardly cabled to the United States before notices or elaborations of the circumstances connected with it, appeared in at least fifty American newspapers, mainly metropolitan. Some of them not only told about his boyhood, emigration, education, the positions he held, the books he wrote, the maps he bought—particularly the map with the Schomburgk line that played such a role in the Venezuela Boundary dispute in Cleveland's administration—but also commented editorially.

The *Boston Transcript*, for which he frequently wrote, contained a lengthy article about him, and also wrote editorially about him—as follows:

"The sudden death of Professor . . . Stuckenberg in London will cause mourning among a circle of friends, not large, but select, which knew him as a fine exponent of German-Americanism at its best. Conversant with a wide realm of human knowledge and ever trying to co-ordinate it, profoundly in sympathy with all efforts to better men's social conditions and individual welfare, a most charming host who together with his wife made many American students in Berlin and Cambridge understand what Christian hospitality means, a helper of clergymen of all denominations by his regular contributions to the *Homiletic Review*, and an author of thoughtful, valuable works on social science—his premature death makes a gap not easily filled.

"Many are the men and women scattered over the land now, holding responsible positions as teachers or artists, to whom the home of Professor and Mrs. Stuckenberg, while they were in charge of the American Church in Berlin, was a Mecca where inspiration and consolation were ever to be found by the needy, homesick student.

"The Lutheran Church, of which Professor Stuckenberg was a member, had it been less conservative and hidebound and more alive to its opportunities would have made a place for this sociologist in one of its colleges. He had his face to the new light and had little patience with the men who were more conservative in the new land of liberty than their brethren in the homeland."

A long article appeared about him in one of the newspapers of Cambridge, which closed by incorporating the editorial of the *Boston Transcript*.

A very fine personal appreciation of him was furnished for the *Congregationalist* and *Christian World*, July 11, 1903, under the title *The Friendly Side of Dr. Stuckenberg*, by Miss Ella G. Ives, who was intimate of the family and was very favorably known for the school in Boston for young women conducted by herself and her sister. Miss Ives had become acquainted with Stuckenberg at Clifton Springs in the eighties. Several beautiful poems of hers appeared from time to time in the *Transcript*.

She said that he as scholar and author belonged to the world of thinkers. His philosophical works will "fit audience find, though few," in the present; their ultimate appeal is to the future. "But Dr. Stuckenberg, the man, a magnetic and noble personality, one must have known intimately to measure his greatness and charm." He wrote, she showed, for an aristocracy of intellect, but had, in his own phrase, a "passion for humanity." During his last years no persuasion could draw him into the country. His soul replied:

"I dwell amid the city ever  
The great humanity which beats  
Its life along the stony streets."

Its "still, sad music" moved him, and feeling crystalized into action. The gracious hospitality of his Cambridge home was extended to all alike. One day in his home where pleasantries were exchanged among visitors, he lifted the conversation to a higher plane, and a young actor present, from the Ben Hur Company was startled into revealing a

beauty of spirit like the momentary flashing of a gem; and a musician, who had walked the streets with his wares—a glorious voice—until failure had made him despondent, took his harp from the willows and sang the songs of Zion as one about to return from captivity.

She narrated the professor's descriptive power once in contrasting an emperor and Luther: "And how often he left congenial company to employ his keen analytic mind in reading the character of some boy or girl. To the young folk gathered at Clifton Springs his skill seemed magical. . . . A woman who needed strengthening thanks him to this day for holding the mirror up to her weakness."

Miss Ives also penned a long article for *The Boston Transcript*, June 19, saying: "He wrote for the future and neglected the ordinary ways of gaining the public ear. None could persuade him to popularize his books. The fate after a book was published, seemed not to concern him." "That alert, scholarly presence! How often have we seen it radiate influence over the most diverse humanity. He treated women as frankly as men." She pays a deserved tribute to his wife. "This life of abounding activity and service was shared and ennobled by one in fullest accord with it. . . . What Caroline Herschel, the sister, was to William, Mary Stuckenberg, the wife, was, and more to her husband. Her life and devotion made possible his life of achievement."

Lengthy articles appeared in the *Boston Globe*; the *Boston Herald*; in an editorial of the *Homiletic Review*, signed by Mr. Funk and Mr. Gregory; also editorials in the *Lutheran Observer*, June 12, and the *Lutheran Evangelist*, July 10, which in addition contained an appreciation by Missionary I. L. Uhl. Dr. Samuel Schwarm wrote a fine summary of his life in the *Observer*, June 29, the following year. He had studied under Stuckenberg, was a friend, and an admirer of him, a Leftist more than a Rightist, with a tendency to stress likenesses rather than to show differences in movements. He was somewhat mistaken in ascribing Stuckenberg's uncompromising attitude to the

Rightists by pointing to his experiences in the days of schism, rather than to the advanced status of theology that he found among the leading conservative theologians in Germany. Stuckenberg attributed more power to revelation than did Schwarm, who defended "philosophic proofs" for the existence of God, which Stuckenberg, knowing Kant and the limits of reason too well, rightly rejected.

Eminently true in its characterisation of Stuckenberg was the memorial written and read by Dr. M. H. Valentine on the floor of the Synod of East Pennsylvania, September, 1904, and approved by the Synod's rising vote:

"It was impossible to associate with Dr. Stuckenberg without being impressed by the fervor and simplicity of his Christian faith. In his quest of knowledge he traversed the entire field of speculation. He was familiar with all that skeptical philosophy has had to say against Theistic and Christian belief. His method of dealing with doubts when they arose in his mind was not the cowardly one of evasion, of refusal to look them squarely in the face, or to measure their weight and strength. . . .

"Dr. Stuckenberg had many of the qualities of the orator—physical bulk, personal magnetism, sweep of momentum of thought, and rhetorical skill. In preaching he was animated, eloquent, and evangelical. He had a singular gift of lucid exposition, resulting, in large part, from a profound mastery of his subject. He could speak, night after night, on the most abstruse problems of philosophy, theology, and sociology, holding the absorbed interest of his hearers. He was a cultivated Christian gentleman, a scholar of international renown, a man of earnest and unaffected faith in the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, a devoted member of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church. It must ever be a matter of regret that the Lutheran Church did not avail herself to the full of the magnificent educational resources she had in Dr. Stuckenberg.

"Dr. Stuckenberg's marriage was a particularly happy one. His wife, who survives him, has had a spirit kindred with his own and has shared his enthusiasm."



This memorial was prepared in 1904, beyond which we cannot go, in this particular instance. We return to the papers of 1903. Articles and longer or shorter notices about Stuckenberg appeared, besides those we have mentioned, in the *Boston Journal*, *Boston Traveler*, *Springfield Republican*, *Albany Journal*, *Buffalo Commercial*, *National Advertiser*, *News Press* (Poughkeepsie), *Brooklyn Eagle*, *New York Herald*, *New York World*, *New York Times*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Sun*, *New York Commercial*, *Buffalo News*, *Syracuse Standard*, *Yonkers Statesman*, *Waterloo Standard*, *Post Express*, *Public Ledger*, *Philadelphia Bulletin*, *Philadelphia Telegraph*, *Chicago American*, *Chicago Inter Ocean*, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, *St. Louis Star*, etc.

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Letters of appreciation were written to the widow by Dr. Edward A. Ross, who stated, "I must count him an important formative influence in my own life."

Professor Lewis Paton of Hartford Theological Seminary found that there were six members of the Faculty of that school who had come under the influence of Dr. Stuckenberg. Dr. Paton was impressed with his unselfish labor; the way he rallied Americans about him; his ability to mediate the best of German thought to American students; the mastery he possessed over the most advanced thought.

Dr. Alfred W. Anthony, who worked together with Stuckenberg in summer schools and winter extension work, in Lewiston, Me., and who invited Stuckenberg also for the school in 1903, which the latter had to decline because of his voyage to Europe, paid a tribute to his friend in the *Star* (Lewiston). Again, in 1925, looking back thirty-five years to those memorable evening meetings in the Berlin home, he could "readily see the large, robust, burly form standing with back against the door post so as to speak to assembled students in two rooms on either hand . . . see the nervous energy with which the body moved and the flushed, florid face turn to the right and to the left as

it was lit up with an eager magnetic thought and a desire to impart; and the impression first made remains that here was an honest seeker for truth, a great disciple, ready to follow the gleam wherever it led." "Those Sunday evening gatherings were powerful factors in stimulating the thinking of scores of hundreds of young American students who came into the midst of German learning. . . . More than thirty years ago he could well have been termed a 'modernist', but at the same time he built daily new structures on the fundamental truths of Revelation. . . . He occupied a teacher's position of unusual reach and with a loyal return of confidence such as few teachers are privileged to enjoy."

Professor A. C. Armstrong, the philosopher, refers to his "strong, sweet and beautiful life. His work on *Introduction to Philosophy* was one of the very first works to suggest . . . profitable treatment of philosophical questions." Armstrong explains he was himself led to begin the study with his own classes by suggestions made by Stuckenberg in Berlin, who was an "industrious and serious inquirer," but, more than that, "he knew how to bring his learning and the lessons of his intellectual life to bear upon the problems encountered by younger minds."

Dr. Edward F. Williams, graduate at 24 from Yale, who was pastor of Tabernacle Church in Chicago, later of Evanston Park Congregational Church; who for a long period of time was the western representative of the *Congregationalist*, a lecturer for years at Union Theological College and at Wheaton College; and author of that exquisite book *Christian Life in Germany*—wrote in similar terms. He had been in Berlin in 1891, and Stuckenberg desired him as his successor when he resigned from the American Church. Fitting words of praise were also expressed in a letter from Dr. Wm. Adams Brown. These messages of testimony were not confined to the citizens of the academic teaching world. Also other voices shared in paying tribute to the noble qualities of the man who had been so suddenly summoned to another world.

Among the latter must be mentioned Mr. William H. Manss of Chicago, son of one of the members of the Wittenberg Board at the Gotwald trial. His father looked with other eyes upon that case years afterwards when he had a long talk with Stuckenberg, as letters indicate. The son, who had read nine years before the misstatement of the press regarding Stuckenberg's resignation from Berlin and who was so aroused that he wrote to him about it, asking that the Council be informed and take steps to brand the statement as an untruth, now in June, 1903, wrote Mrs. Stuckenberg a wonderful letter of sympathy. Her husband had been his pastor in Berlin. The letter speaks of the pastor's courage, integrity, honorableness and faithfulness. "I loved him for his own sake. He was loyal and kind and true. In the dark days of 'heart's weeping,' his comfort soothed and when intellectual doubts were making my religious life a cauldron of despair, he helped me to fight the battle and sail again on the smoother seas. . . . I admired him as a preacher. His sermon 'I seek not yours but you,' is one of the great sermons of my life. I loved him as my father, and can I say more?"

The General Council Church that Stuckenberg was serving the last winter he lived, passed resolutions concerning his death, and resolved unanimously, that "we sincerely mourn the death of the highly esteemed Dr. Stuckenberg, scholar, author, and Gospel minister . . . that we hereby testify to the effectiveness of his kindly and helpful ministration . . . that we extend to his bereaved helpmeet our heartfelt sympathy."

Finally, the words of Mr. Alfred Pennington, who had played in Berlin *auf kaiserlichem Befehl*, the Director of the Conservatory of Music, Scranton, Pa.: "How I remember his lectures in your own home, when his subjects and the wonderful treatment should have had audiences of thousands. . . . Among the most potent influences in my student days for righteousness was Dr. Stuckenberg. . . . Its power upon my subconscious self has never ceased to be active." Mr. Pennington then addresses himself to the

widow; and it is fitting to close this section with his words: "I beg you will allow me also, at this point, to refer to yourself. You were a true helpmeet to him, heart and soul with him in all his thoughts for the good of mankind. You . . . showed it in your every expression of the face. I have referred to you, time and again to my friends during the years that have intervened, as the 'ideal wife of a pastor.' There was a graciousness of manner that put even the most retiring persons at his ease, and a sympathetic personality that endeared you to us all—students and tourists alike. You were 'talked over' by many more than you ever dreamed of; but the 'verdict' was always the same. . . . My wife has heard me speak many times of you and she unites with me in sincerest regards."

Thus were some of the opinions and pronouncements of people who knew Dr. and Mrs. Stuckenberg—of the teacher and the scholar, of the man of the pew and the man of the press; of the artist and the man of affairs, and others.



## The Crowning Effort of a Purpose

THE LAST WORK of Stuckenberg to leave the press was *Sociology: The Science of Human Society*, a work of two volumes (Pp. XI, 408; VI, 388), published in 1903 by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Practically all the proof had been read—all of it as the firm assured Stuckenberg, when he sailed for Europe. Through an inadvertency of some office hand, there was some proof left to read. This was sent to be read by Stuckenberg in London, but delayed the appearance of the work. Had it not been for this error, he would have seen the printed work. It was pathetic that he passed away too soon for its appearance, two stately volumes in excellent typographical form. He had delayed the voyage in order to have all the proof reading off his mind. He read the rest of it in London. He was waiting for the arrival of the book, in the meantime working at his *Purpose and Method in Education*.

*Sociology I, II* was the result of a life's thinking and laboring, the crowning effort of his scholarly life. It is tragic that he did not live to see the array of splendid reviews of his work. It is a pleasure to read these carefully wrought appraisals written by competent men who wrote not to please or flatter or to make the book "sell", but who wrote as conscientious reviewers.

There are exceptions to all things. And so with Stuckenberg's last book. It did not escape the fate of either the superficial reviewer or the "high horse" critic; but it must be stated that the unanimity of the voices of praise is outstanding in spite of these exceptions, which have not been excluded below.

The plan followed below is to let the critics, or reviewers, of metropolitan papers express themselves about Stucken-

berg's book after the fashion of an abbreviated symposium. The object is to present the content of Stuckenberg's *Sociology* to the readers of the present book through these reviewers. The procedure, it is readily admitted, is unique, but will substitute chorus effect for solo subjectiveness and show not how the book affects the present writer, though he in the main agrees with the voices of the chorus; but show how the work affected contemporary scholars.

To avoid repetitions and to convey the totality impress, certain parts, if noticed by a preceding writer, will not be quoted again from another writer, unless emphasis should invite repetition. The reviews follow in chronological order and are much condensed. It would be simpler to state one's opinion about the book, without referring to reviewers. But Stuckenberg should be seen also with the eyes of contemporaries who spoke and were qualified to speak of him. The Panegyrist, whether soft-toned or loudly enthusiastic, and the acutely sour "critic" merit no serious attention. Fortunately, neither of these types are represented in the material that was available for the presentation that follows:

1) *Leslie's Weekly*, April 2, did not review the new book, but announced it, at the same time vouching for its solidity, on the strength of Stuckenberg's *Introduction to Sociology*: "The most ardent imperialist never dreamed of anything quite so expansive as the term 'sociology', which is now made to include almost everything from the mediations of the mythical *Herr Teufelsdröckh* in *Sartor Resartus* to the up-to-date sketches of tenement-house life by Jacob A. Riis and Jane Addams.

"No one, I think, has been able to fix a more exact definition on the term than Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, whose *Introduction to Sociology* has the merit of being brief as well as clear and as understandable as any treatise on the science of human society can well be. A larger and more comprehensive work on Sociology by the same author is announced from the press of Putnam's."

2) *The New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, dwells on the author's new definition of society: Society is not an association of individuals, but a combination of social forces. A person gives to society his social force, energy or power, that part of the individual which exerts a psychical influence on others. The center of attraction is no longer the *socii*, but their social forces. The monistic tendency of most writers to explain all human association by its reference to one and to explain all human action by its reference to a single motive, does not find a response in Dr. Stuckenberg. He enumerates ten different social forces (see the present book, Chap. 18, Sec. 5).

Social evolution, which is next considered, is defined as the "way in which social forces are brought together in space and in time, and how they interact and coöperate because they intermingle." Three eras of social force are distinguished: 1) the consanguine, or family, the basis of social organization. 2) the political era, or the state. 3) international era, or society of nations. The third division deals with Social Ethics: What ought society to be.

The reviewer, mistaken as to the background of Dr. Stuckenberg, thinks that he has been a minister [sic] too long to forego the opportunity of emphasizing the ethical imperative. The reviewer, too ready to identify his own conception of a minister with that of a real theologian—and that is what Stuckenberg was—is handicapped in understanding the "intrinsic merits" of the work. For, it has these merits, as he readily admits.

3) *The Literary World*, Boston, July 4, says: Dr. Stuckenberg had a characteristically German mind and none of his books could be pronounced superficial or careless; intellectual conscientiousness and solid learning marked them all. Stuckenberg rejects society as an organism, taken so seriously by Schäffle and others. His development of the classification of the ten forces that constitute society is attractive, though can be questioned. He subdivides less than does professor Gidding, rejects the Spencerian formula, makes but little use of Tarde's work on *Imitation*,



who is of the same opinion, however. Then follows Stuckenberg's discussion of the three great eras. The third division is misnamed sociological ethics, though it is refreshing to hear Stuckenberg say: "There, then, is a law of universal application; men are not necessarily controlled by self-interest, but always by what interests them." The book will increase Dr. Stuckenberg's just reputation as a methodical and illuminating thinker on a science of the reality of whose existence the book should convince the skeptics who yet remain unconvinced that Sociology is. This critic who likes to identify the German mind with thoroughness [what about the Swedish, the Danish?] paternistically avers that "the style though remarkably good for one born in Germany [sic. This mind came over here at four] has somewhat of the German cumbrousness and repetitionness."

Without holding a brief—of any kind—for the style employed by Stuckenberg in scholarly, technical discourse, it may be but fair to remind ourselves of the comment of James Russel Lowell in approving his Kant manuscript for publication by Macmillan in 1881. According to the logic of the *Literary World*, Joseph Conrad, of Polish descent, would have been a paradox at sea tale writing. A better argument would have been Stuckenberg's wide reading in German during the fourteen years stay in Berlin, but this again would have been offset by the excellent English employed in the American and British circles about him. And then his nine years in Cambridge! This style of criticism is deservedly rebuked by the praise bestowed upon Stuckenberg's literary gifts, below. The solid subjects of theoretical sociology or theoretical philosophy do not easily lend themselves to feuilletonistic treatment. Lester Ward, born in Illinois, is criticized below for his style by that very same writer who praises Stuckenberg for his. One of the writers even compares William James and Stuckenberg most favorably as to their English. This comparison is perhaps an exaggeration. Stuckenberg of Saxon ancestry did not have the flash and dash of James, of Yankee lineage.



though the mother of the former preferred Tersteegen, the poet, to Emanuel Swedenborg, the choice of James' father. There is something solid about Stuckenberg's statements. One could never imagine him shooting off a fire cracker like this "Philosophy is an unusually obstinate attempt to think clearly and consistently," or setting off a squib like this: the consciousness of the infant—or perhaps the infant—is "a great, blooming, buzzing confusion." These definitions define nothing; for they are with equal propriety applicable to a score of other objects. James was genial, clever, fascinating. And yet Wilhelm Wundt's comment on a book of James on Psychology, related in J. Lincoln Steffens' autobiography, hardly misses the mark: Fine literature, but it isn't psychology.

4) Without making a single criticism, Mary Calkins Brooke wrote an excellent review in the *Bulletin*, San Francisco, July 5. She calls Stuckenberg's last work: "This great study of the science of mankind." "The research, the scholarship which he has brought to bear inspire the most profound respect, and yet it seems to me that the most striking characteristic of the eminent Doctor's book is a sort of progression, demonstrated by the fine strength, the magnificent hopefulness of the closing chapters. Sociology is a distinctly modern science, and the complete conception of it is newly born. Dr. Stuckenberg himself appears to grow into that conception, grasping it at last in its causes and its general characteristics."

She especially commends the part on sociological ethics. Comte didn't have a place for sociological ethics. Spencer furnishes interesting illustrations how indispensable ethics is for sociology. Stuckenberg leaves this desultory method and systematizes, and works with great patience. She quotes him at length, and finds that nothing which he has set down is more interesting or valuable than his conception of international social requirements, and the notes on the trend to internationalism. He does not argue that the international era is to supersede the political era, except where the political usurps international functions. Nor

does he anticipate a depreciation of national characteristics and achievements. The life of a people must be heeded, it is no longer necessary for nations to die, as did Greece and Rome, before their culture can flow forth for the fertilizing of other nations. Thus far Miss Brooke's keen observation.

5) *Good Study in Sociology* is the heading for the review, July 18, in "The Chicago Record-Herald." Its conception of style differs much from that of the writer, quoted above, who found fault with it as he related in the *Literary World*. The *Record-Herald* calls the two volumes "an orderly and masterful treatise, thought out into the clearest, freshest, purest English." It points to Stuckenberg "as a singularly fine instance of the Americanized German scholar. It is rare that a man combines so happily so wide a range of qualities and accomplishments. With high ideals and wide sympathies, he was interested in the whole range of human knowledge, but gave himself with special zest to the study and development of the incipient science of human society."

This review calls attention to the fact that many writers in struggling toward clear conceptions, have indulged in considerable "sociological babble." Dr. Stuckenberg, it finds, was not one of these. Stuckenberg rejects explanations of society, its laws and facts by merely naturalistic or biological analogies. He admits that analogies are to a certain extent true and useful, but beyond that limit misleading.

The reviewer emphasizes that Stuckenberg was a student and thinker apt to "see life clear and to see it whole" and that he held that the law of development is not just the same in human affairs, as in nature, since now it is, in a measure, subject to intelligence and choice. Natural selection becomes social, intelligent, ideal selection. Great men become evolutionary forces. Then creations are diffused and become social possessions; they step forward, and Society follows them. At the same time while individuals come and go, the social forces retain a social continuity, and so make permanent progress possible. Stuckenberg

contends that the epic of humanity has not been written, though there are epics of particular peoples and ages. Humanity is a drama that nobody can compress into an epic. Meanwhile Sociology must attempt to explain the meaning of social humanity, so far as it can do so in the light of all the other forms of human knowledge. No sociological work can for a long term hope for finality. Its value must be estimated by its help along the way toward finality. Estimated in this way the work of Stuckenberg will be of distinct and marked value. The reviewer finds that the sections relating to sociological ethics is particularly clear.

This review is undeniably happy in seizing upon salient points in Stuckenberg's system of Sociology.

6) The *Detroit Free Press*, July 23, regarding the work as an elaborate study of the science of Society, is throughout complimentary but deals in generalities.

7) Under *Books of the Day*, The Boston Transcript, August 12, devotes an article, the longest thus far, to Stuckenberg's two volumes. To repeat its entire content, even in substance, would be to repeat much that has been said above. But some of its more emphatic viewpoints can be mentioned here. It takes notice of the plan that Stuckenberg has followed in writing this work. "In a word the plan adopted is one of social analysis and synthesis." "Dr. Stuckenberg's thesis of the nature of society is worked out with great care and wealth of illustration, for he felt the need at the outset of abolishing the current notion of society as composed of individuals. Society is constituted by what individuals give of themselves to their fellowmen. It is therefore not seen, but thought, a concept rather than a percept." As to the first division of the work, it has been worked out "with great care and a clarity of presentation sufficient for the comprehension of even an unscientific reader." Perhaps the most interesting portion of his investigation, according to the *Transcript*, comes next in the study of social evolution. In the past, "clear understanding of this subject has been hindered by the effort to push too far the analogy of biological evolution." "The evolu-



tion of society is essentially psychological." The development of differentiation has been more easily perceived than that of unification. The latter has been as a consequence much overlooked. The review praises the breadth of treatment given to the three eras and the power of correlation here manifested. They are the distinguishing features of the work at this point. "In the author's grasp lie the history of Jewish theocracy in its varied development, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, the utopian dreams of Thomas More, the schemes of Machiavelli." "Gathered up with all, controlling all, is his individual investigation of the nature of state as it exists today, the outcome of the social forces at work through the ages. There is an exultation in the grasp of so vast a subject. Greatest of all, this absorbing era is not made an end in itself, but retains its right relation to the whole book." There is a definite trend toward internationalism. There is, too, a supernationalism, a summing up of the duties men owe to one another as men that will eventually control the dealings with savage tribes having no state, but existing still on the kinship basis. Sociological ethics finds its proper place in this work.

"Dr. Stuckenberg's interpretation of sociology is characterized by a systematization and scientific treatment. Mere speculation is rigidly excluded. Self restraint and critical power of elimination guard against the subtle danger of being drawn aside from the main question by the manifold interests of related subjects. There is the impress of originality, a logical development from first to last, and a firmness in handling the mass of material, which gives solidity and strength." The reviewer properly states that Stuckenberg did not claim finality for his work; on the contrary he said, We are only on the shore, with the great ocean of truth beyond. "A man may indeed depart in peace when he leaves behind him for the help of other men such a memorial of his living among them."

8) The *Cleveland Leader*, of August 23, regards Stuckenberg truly as "one of the leading sociologists of the world,



a man of great natural forces of mind which he has developed by earnest study along the lines for which he was best fitted." He teaches that society can never be stable. What was an ideal yesterday is practicality today and so a man must continually project himself into the future. The work does not give a red flag to anarchists and agitators to flaunt. They will find little consolation in his pages. His style is good and clear. The reader by pursuing the two volumes will have a better understanding of the right kind of socialism than ever before.

9) The *Pittsburgh Gazette*: Stuckenberg's *Sociology* realizes the ideal. Its method is empirical. It is so lucidly and concretely written, despite the author's broad scholarship, that it is no less readable than a romance—in fact, the only scientific work I know that matches it in this respect is Prof. James' *Psychology*. "It is impossible to do justice to Stuckenberg's work in the compass of a brief review. Its scholarship and thought are such as we have heretofore looked for only from the great German thinkers. There is none of the bumptious vagueness that marks writers like Benjamin Kidd. His interpretation is scientific and systematic—he has secured a firm basis and projected a valid and comprehensive scheme for his science of society. His work should be a standard for many years to come."

10) The *New York Times*, September 19, calls the book "excellent . . . a capital treatise on the new and comprehensive science of Sociology. The book contains a broad and scholarly discussion of the subject. . . . It marks a new departure in the field of sociology. In his method as well as his treatment the author strikes out in a new path and makes an original investigation of society. . . . This means the abandonment of traditional methods. The discussion is "clear and vigorous." Society is conceived as "the great mental life which results from the influence of men on each other. . . . It is not a being but a relation. . . . The relation of individual to society is well illustrated by the relation of a language to those who speak it. The language is a

social product, but it has no existence except in the minds and mouths of the individuals who use it." The author's view is "presented so forcibly that one wonders on reading it how any other conception could ever have been entertained." The view is so "reasonable and logical that it seems destined to meet with wide currency." The author includes ethics. But he does not use the term ethics in its broad metaphysical sense as embracing a consideration of a moral order of the universe, the destiny and design of society. It must be admitted that there are certain demands of society inherent in its very nature which all must recognize. These demands offer a proper field of inquiry for sociological ethics. The introduction of sociological ethics is a new feature, but is warranted by the author's advanced conception of the science. "The book is almost a model of clearness. The sentences are short and lucid, and the language never conceals the author's meaning."

11) The *Springfield Republican*, October 23, regards the work as comprehensive and exhaustive . . . solid from start to finish. The review dwells much on Stuckenberg's demonstration that society is not a sum of individuals. He uses "keen philosophic processes of reason."

12) The *Chicago Evening Post*: The author of this review is at loss as to what Stuckenberg's *Sociology* means, in spite of devoting considerable space to it. He wisely resolves that "adequate apprehension or criticism of this work must be left to special sociological journals."

13) Dr. Sylvester F. Scovel, of Wooster College, friend of Stuckenberg, writes in the *Book Shelf*, and comes to the conclusion, putting it in italics, that "it is in a *very important sense, the first approximately complete Christian Sociology*." This judgment is of course wrong. The book is anti-materialistic, but this does not make it "Christian" anymore than mathematics can be made Christian.

14) The *Independent* (2807-08) reviews Lester F. Ward's *Pure Sociology* and Stuckenberg's *Sociology* in the same article. It regards Sociology as a science in embryo. The two men had different aims and conceptions. But

"both of these works are notable for their scholarship, their intellectual power and their sincerity." This review favors the naturalistic view, and measures "scientific attainment" by laboratory knowledge. Ward had more of this view. The reviewer, it seems, does not appreciate philosophy as scientific. He is a Baconian in his understanding of science. He admits, though, that Ward is careless in his diction, "takes small note of the pruning and mending needful for a clear style." "His figures are graphic and his allusions luminous, but there is sometimes to be found a tortuosity of expression wherein the thought is nigh lost." But "Dr. Stuckenberg writes with a greater simplicity and correctness. If his style is less striking and varied, it is on the other hand clearer and the thought is more readily followed."

Thus seen, we have in Stuckenberg an exponent of:

1. Ranke's conception of leaders and heroes, who lead the way in knowledge, art, government, philosophy, theology, etc.—creative men, who have followers. This was also Luther's idea, as especially Professor Otto Scheel has shown in his strong booklet, *Evangelium Kirche und Volk bei Luther* (1934).

2. The use of analogies from biology in explaining society is critically evaluated and rejected.

3. Natural evolution, materialism can not solve the sociological problem. Naturalism rejects history or the independent creations of man's mind and hand on the plane of the physical universe.

4. There is a dramatic element in history, stressed so much in the last generation in Swedish theology by men like E. Billing, G. Aulen, Joh. Lindblom and others.

5. The laws of natural science do not obtain for the *geisteswissenschaftliche* realm (all social studies). Dilthey, Windelband, Rickert had been working on this problem which resulted in the division of nomothetic sciences and historical sciences, and other divisions akin to them. Such a division precludes the mechanistic conception of

biology with its setting aside of the human element with its creative intelligence and will.

6. Society consists not of individuals, but of social forces, the spiritual forces in the individuals in interaction producing something superindividual, which continues and grows after the departure of the individuals. This definition is revolutionary in Sociology, going far beyond the explanations attempted by Tönnies in distinguishing between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*.

Unknown to Stuckenberg, its parallel is to be found in Luther's teaching, where this teaching applies to the real, *nicht gemachte* Church, the Kingdom of God, not demonstrable to natural man, but "seen" by the believer. This is the only place where the teaching can be applied with *entire consistency*, as it is the work of the Spirit in man, not a man-made effort. Man is here pictured as a channel for divine, spiritual, self-sacrificial love, the *motive* for all good deeds. This church, here, and beyond all space and time, is the spiritual life of those who believe in God. It does not consist of individuals. It is invisible, not a *successio paparum*, nor a *successio apostolorum*, but a *successio fidelium*, as Luther said. "The idea of the invisibility of the Church of Christ is the greatest and most powerful idea that has ever made its appearance in Church History." (R. Sohm, *Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus* (1909, 343.) To develop this idea here is not possible.

Stuckenberg's "society" (like Luther-Sohm's church) is invisible, due to the fact that *forces* of individuals, and not individuals themselves, constitute society. This latter idea seems to have been suggested to Stuckenberg by Sohm's *Institutes of Roman Law*. He refers in this connection to Sohm. If Stuckenberg had lived to see Sohm's book of 1909, the contradictions which are contained in his conception of church, would likely have disappeared. And yet, he had less of these contradictions than the vast majority of his denominational brethren in our country today, for whom it seems to be such a task to understand Sohm's plain language, without deducting the absurdest conse-



quences,—consequences entirely foreign to Luther or Sohm. The importance of this Luther-Sohm discovery seems to be dawning in Germany, where the church controversy has made the old stand untenable, a stand that finds no support anywhere in the Book of Concord.

7. Stuckenberg stressed the great importance of psychology for sociology. In this respect, says Chr. A. Elwood in 1912, he agreed with Dr. Simmel, a forerunner of Dr. Albion Small. Stuckenberg had high regard for Simmel, whom he regarded as the leader in sociology; and for Wilhelm Wundt, to whom he gave the palm as the leading psychologist and philosopher, about 1900. Wundt wanted to make psychology basic for philosophy. Most German sociologists are also philosophers, and sociology is, as we have seen, largely treated in Germany as a department of philosophy.

8. There exists a sociological ethics. Even Paul Barth, of Leipzig, who identifies sociology with philosophy of history, gives his unasked approval to Stuckenberg for incorporating Ethics in his *Sociology*. As stated above, ethics here is not used in its broad *metaphysical* sense as embracing a consideration of a *moral* order of the universe, the destiny or design of society. Ethics here is not iron-bound, but includes the element of change. Social Ethics was not treated as an integral part of scientific Sociology before the appearance of Stuckenberg's *Introduction to Sociology*.

9. Stuckenberg's Ethics is strictly scientific. It is empirical, operates with what is known. It rejects biologic evolution because it is a hypothesis. The natural evolutionist, who disregards history, gets no support from him. Nor does the Marxian economic historical school. The author indeed is a Christian in his personal profession, but that is not stressed in the book. His position is not that of an agnostic: "we-do-not-know." Like Sohm, co-author of Germany's wonderful *Gesetzbuch* of 1900, he has his Christian convictions, and does not deny them. Neither ever found themselves in the situation of Bishop Berggrav of Norway, who a few years ago said he did not dare write

in the word "God" in scientific discussion. Professor Geis-mar of Copenhagen told him, he would have no hesitancy at all in doing it. But belief in God is not the same as infusing or ingrafting a system of theological doctrine into a book on Sociology. Sohm, joyous in his Christianity, speaks outright that he wanted no "Christian legislation" (*Kultur der Gegenwart, Systematische Rechtswissenschaft*, 1913, 66-154). Stuckenberg was of the same opinion in his Sociology, though, with both, experience was not limited to the experiences of senses. "Heathen" or "Christian" will find in Stuckenberg's book an unbiassed, objective work.

10. Sociology will always be in the making, undergoing improvements, as time strides forward, like an ideal which is unattainable in finality. Sociology is a rational science, with the limitations of rationality.

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Considering these ten points as orienting, it is needless to go into further details as to the content of the work. It covers a tremendous range; and the reader is made to feel everywhere that he is being guided by a man of unusual sweep of mind and scientific versatility, weighing matters carefully as a judge. The three great eras, with their subdivisions have been referred to. The ten categories of social forces have been presented. It may be added that the quotations in *Sociology* from standard authorities in social sciences were chosen with care and that none of the worthwhile German, English and French authorities recognized about 1900 were overlooked in its preparation—thanks to the libraries in Berlin, Boston, London and Paris.

Stuckenberg also discusses the State (II, pp. 65-134). The discussion is particularly illuminating for our day.<sup>28</sup> It does not include a history of the State, though he mentions several theories about it. Thus he states that the contract theory has been generally given up. He supposes that cities may have been the states in early time, as in Greece. He

asserts that the essence of the state is the citizenship, the relation and function of the inhabitants. The state is not the state of L. H. Morgan that places the first emphasis on land and property. The omnipotence of state does not mean omnipotence in every sphere. The state reveals its sovereignty by putting its will into laws which it makes absolute. No other organization has the right to exercise force of the same kind and to the same degree. If the constitution declares what *ought* to be, the laws are more specific and declare what *must* be. Like Spengler, but long before him, Stuckenberg was one of those that claimed that civilization can not be identified with culture. This treatment of the state is well supported by standard works on state written by constitutional historians, economists and especially by jurists. Stuckenberg does not permit the individual to absorb the state nor the state to submerge the individual, he does not advocate the doctrine of individualism, but that of personality, and favors the political conditions that permit the *development of personality*.

Stuckenberg's *Sociology* is to this day as refreshing as it was in 1903 because it is *theoretical* Sociology. The author knew, of course, nothing about the Great War. He pointed to factors that would make the political cauldron boil over, and he foresaw many of the dire consequences of a European war. He probably never dreamed of America's entry into a World War, as possibly nobody else did in his day. Nobody needed tell him what was war.

He was idealistically minded, but too much of a realist to share the dreams of Pacificism. In this respect he had no intention of revising or re-interpreting the Augsburg Confession nor outlawing war.

Said he: "There is not much hope from peace societies which occupy a false position. With present conditions wars are the logic of the situation and therefore inevitable. The strongest hope is in the change of States, in an increase of international power, and in the removal of the conditions and causes of war. So long as States remain unchanged a peace may be rotten and war the most sacred

duty. Nor is it consistent to denounce Governments for engaging in war when the impulse to do so comes from the sovereign people. Equally absurd is it to denounce tyrants for imposing heavy taxes on the people in order to maintain a standing army, when the real tyrant, if the army is not a necessity, is the people who vote and pay the taxes."

He foresaw an international era and had years before coined the words *supernational* and *supernationalism* to express the nature of this era. But he did not dare prophesy whether the international era would be the last in social evolution. "We adhere too closely to reality to indulge in prophecies, and leave to sociological ethics the consideration of what ought to be." (II p. 286.)

In this last work of Stuckenberg, he speaks most maturely as a man who looks at society not only from one angle, but from several. One beholds the combination in him of theologian, philosopher, sociologist. The *Sociology* is all the richer, fuller, for this: not that this Sociology is a mixture. It is Sociology and nothing else. But the broader the training behind the author, the broader is the book. Or does theological or philosophical training subtract from the ability to discern sociologically? A pity on sciences, if it were so. But it is not so.

This writer can think of no other man more fit for being paralleled with Stuckenberg than one who came as professor to the University of Berlin, four years after Stuckenberg returned from Berlin to the United States. He, too, was a theologian, a philosopher and a sociologist, who combined and applied his training in these three capacities in his books. This man was Reinhold Seeberg. That he moreover was an exceptional philologist, thoroughly at home in classical and semitic languages, and consequently a splendid exegete need not be considered here. But he always searched for the social factors. At Dr. Stöcker's death he became president of the *Kirchliche soziale Konferenz*. When he, because of age, had to surrender his professorship in systematic theology, as *akademische Freiheit* interprets this surrender, he started a seminar for social study, in the Univer-



sity. This became a fond child of his; and when he took fatally ill, though he did not know that death would soon come, his great concern was: Who will take care of that seminar? Seeberg's last work was the third revised edition of his *Ethics*. These two men hardly knew of each other and of each other's books. But what a similarity in Stuckenberg's efforts in Sociology and Seeberg's *Ethics*. The latter work went through three editions, greatly changed each time: *System der Ethik*, 1911 and 1920, and *Christliche Ethik*, 1936. The emphasis in this work is placed on social Ethics. His son, Dr. Erich Seeberg, regards him as the pioneer of Christian Social Ethics in the scientific meaning of the term.

This is not the place to reiterate whether such an ethics is possible, metaphysically possible. Nor is this the place to compare two men of eminent ability: Evaluation is not the question. But this author finds striking resemblances in the labors of these two men in their social passion for humanity. Also Stuckenberg wanted to establish a school where the Christian social would be prominent in the curriculum; and his courses in the colleges and seminaries on Sociology never forgot the Christian accent.

Seeberg died in 1935, one hundred years after the birth of Stuckenberg. This is pure coincidentalness. But the "facit" of these two lives is that they both worked heart and soul for social uplift.

Much of Stuckenberg's life went into this *Sociology*, of 1903. Two months before his death he wrote to President Scovel, of Wooster College: "My life has gone into this work as into no other. Yet, it may not meet with much favor; for it is not in the dominant sociological trend."

Stuckenberg has been taken away from us. But his last work, now difficult to procure, is still with us, in a sociological trend more intent upon objectiveness than the dogmatic one, dominant thirty-five years ago.

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## CHAPTER XXII

### His Will and Heritage

§ 1. Gettysburg College Receives Bequest—Comments of the Press—Friendship of President M. Valentine—The Stuckenberg Lectureship in Sociology—His Library

ON APRIL 25, 1901, Stuckenberg made his Will; his possessions were to go to Pennsylvania College, conditionally. "My life has not been devoted to the accumulation of money, but to intellectual, ethical and religious pursuits, in which my noble wife has been a constant helper. Whatever possessions I may leave, I desire that they be used for the highest purposes and best ends, particularly in aid of such as have holy aspirations to uplift humanity, but are limited in their means for the realization of their aspirations.

"I favor a progressive Christianity, based on the living teachings of Christ and His apostles. I am opposed to the stagnation created by religious dogmatism and traditionalism and wish none of my possessions to be used in the interest of this stagnation. If my wife survives me, I hereby authorize and direct her, that in case Pennsylvania College, in her judgment, is made to subserve dogmatism and traditionalism instead of a living progressive Christianity, she is to transfer all my possessions to the Board of Marietta College, now located at Marietta, Ohio, to be used by Marietta College for the purpose specified above."

Gettysburg College, as Pennsylvania College is now called, became the recipient of his possessions. About thirty years ago his oil paintings, maps, the Humboldt desk and the Humboldt secretaire, the Goethe album, and his library came into possession of that school. Only recently, when his will was duly probated after the death of his wife, did

it get the title to these possessions and to other properties and papers, amounting to ca. \$16,000.

Mrs. Stuckenberg writes that it must have cost him some effort to forego his alma mater, Wittenberg College, and prefer Gettysburg College. He always loved Wittenberg College, which was one of his pleasant topics for conversation, especially respecting the period he had studied and taught there. But he did not like the trend after 1885. In the judgment of Mrs. Stuckenberg, Gettysburg College was worthy of the bequest.

However, grumblings were soon heard on the territory of his alma mater. The *Lutheran World*, on basis of a newspaper report which made the bequest amount to \$35,000, a sum that Mrs. Stuckenberg called an "absurd exaggeration," stated that Pennsylvania College in accepting this would be shut up "in a perspiration box for years." Something, it claimed, was wrong with Dr. Stuckenberg's "doctrinal attitude." Then the "World" proceeded: "If she (Pennsylvania College) should ever fall heartily into the Lutheran movement in the General Synod, and should teach a clear positive Lutheranism, based on the whole Confession, the legacy is to be denied that institution."

This language was not only impolite but insulting to a dead man and to a living institution, which thus was accused of not being at heart Lutheran, not teaching clear positive Lutheranism, not abiding by the whole Confession.

It required a three column editorial in the "World" to explain this. Heckert was for some time its managing editor.

However, in Mrs. Stuckenberg's eyes the *World* editorial was a misstatement of facts. Noticing other strange statements she drew up a letter to Dr. Heckert, President of Wittenberg College, since 1902, for allowing misrepresentations to be published. She referred especially to an article in the *Lutheran Church Work* [?] entitled Hamma Divinity School. She had the feeling that the intention was plain: to discredit the quality of her husband as a teacher. She made two corrections, stating that he came as a teacher to Springfield in 1873 and that he did not resign for the pur-

pose of pursuing philosophical and sociological studies in Germany. He had asked in vain for two years leave of absence, in order to write a history of German theology in the nineteenth century. He then resigned, but found it impossible to write the history without taking minute account of the trends of philosophy dominant in the successive periods. The article had made it appear that he abandoned his high calling as a minister.

This letter perhaps was not sent. Whether Dr. Heckert was responsible for all that flowed through the columns of the "World" or "Work" [?] is here beside the question. The probability is, he was not. But the letter reflects the agitated state of mind in which a woman of fine soul was who had just lost what was most precious to her on earth. Death had robbed her of the one in whose integrity she had absolute confidence. And now some church papers presumed to sit in judgment upon him and belittle him whose lips could utter no self-defence.

The *World* was representative of the Wittenberg spirit against Gettysburg. The experience of seeing the school at Springfield ignored for the one at Gettysburg was not one of unmixed pleasure. And yet what could Stuckenberg's alma mater expect?

The 1890's affected Stuckenberg's attitude toward Wittenberg. It was no longer the old Wittenberg of Ezra Keller and Samuel Sprecher. The conducting of the Gotwald trial was not to his liking. But what seems especially to have aggravated him was a speech delivered by Dr. Baugher, in 1896, at Wittenberg. Dr. Baugher had been agitating in his own school, Gettysburg College. For a while it seemed as if the entire school was in the balances. He was "reprimanded", but obtained sympathy. And letters show that this sympathy was to be used for obtaining for him the presidency of the General Synod. He was elected for the year 1895-1896, a planned rebuke to the Gettysburg Leftists. At that visit of 1896 at Wittenberg as Synodical President, he was led to make an unfortunate speech about "apeing" and told his audience that some had



left off "apeing." Stuckenberg promptly drew the conclusion that Keller and Sprecher were thus among the "apes" and that through ecclesiastical Darwinism Dr. Ort and Dr. Breckenridge had become man. He asks: "Why did not either of these protest? Twenty-five years before, such a speech on the Wittenberg campus would have been stamped as infamous." The Wittenberg of the General Synod had lost its ecumenic Lutheranism, was Stuckenberg's reiterated verdict. Dr. Baugher was not re-elected President of the Synod after his one year term expired in 1896, during which year his connections with Gettysburg were severed. This is stated as fact, and not as criticism.

Even the *Lutheran* took the liberty of commenting adversely on Stuckenberg's will. The whole situation is best revealed in a letter, November 7, 1904, from Dr. M. Valentine to Mrs. Stuckenberg:

"I feel a strong interest in the matter of which you write, and because I am happy to have an opportunity of expressing my sympathy with you in the unjustifiable annoyances to which newspaper discussions have subjected you. My long and happy acquaintance with Dr. Stuckenberg, whom I admired for his great ability and scholarly attainments and loved for his personal worth and Christian excellence, has made me exceedingly indignant at the unfair and gratuitous criticism to which the conditional clause in his will has been subjected. Dr. Stuckenberg did what was fully within his own right to do, and it was none of the business of the *Lutheran* or any other paper to object or criticise."

Mrs. Stuckenberg regarded ancient malice as the source of these criticisms. Dr. Valentine concurred, but believed this malice from the past was rather circumscribed and that the criticisms could not affect the position of Stuckenberg in the "high esteem and great honor in which his friends have held, do hold and ever will hold him."

Dr. Valentine then refers to Mrs. Stuckenberg's feelings, which she had made known, that Gettysburg did not even by a word of sympathy take notice of the death of Stucken-

berg. He replies, this seems inexcusable, but he thinks it is due to special circumstances. "The college business has not been normal for some time past—in regular presidency and full working order." He had been taking deep and close interest in his son's several defenses and vindications of Stuckenberg in the matter and rejoiced in believing that they had been well received and very effective. (His son, Dr. M. H. Valentine, was editor of the *Lutheran Observer*.) He closes by assuring Mrs. Stuckenberg that he had always felt honored in his relations of friendship and association with Dr. Stuckenberg, enjoying happy memories of the days they spent together.

May it be noted that the correspondence between Dr. Valentine and Stuckenberg extended over a long period, was rich in theology, intimate and happy. Theologically they were one at heart.

Gettysburg College had experienced internal doctrinal warfare at the same time that Wittenberg was having its share of it with the difference that Gettysburg remained what it had been and Wittenberg changed to become a Rightist in the confessional and liturgical issues. Gettysburg was not ready for any expansion in the field of social sciences. It did not even have a full time professor in history and established a chair of philosophy not before 1906. Stuckenberg's desire was to have a chair in Sociology where he could teach about three months a year, as at Marietta College. Sociology was a new science, and many colleges were beginning to offer courses in it.

It was a fitting tribute to his memory that the Stuckenberg Memorial Lectureship was founded at Gettysburg. Annually one lecture is delivered at Gettysburg College in daytime. Classes are dismissed for the lecture, a very large proportion of the student body in attendance. Its title is "The Stuckenberg Lecture in Sociology." The lecturers from 1912 to the outbreak of the War were: President H. C. King, Prof. A. C. Armstrong, Prof. Walter C. Rauschenbusch, Prof. E. A. Ross, and Prof. W. Adams Brown.

A word must here be said about Stuckenberg's library. He did not consider it a large library. It consisted of c. 3,000 volumes. During his long stay in Germany, he kept almost a score boxes of books stored at Wittenberg College. Working in the Royal Library as he did, and needing much new material, his Wittenberg library would have been of comparatively little help to him. Besides, he could get what he wanted in the Library of the capital, and borrow at nominal cost anything he wanted, from the numerous booksellers. In Cambridge he had similar opportunities, using the Boston Public Library and Harvard collections. He bought new books on his return to America.

The books that came from his estate to Gettysburg College were about 1200 in number, mainly in theology, next philosophy, then history and general literature, a fair number of works on political economy and finally books in sociology. A glance at this library will indicate the owner's taste. Of course, he had all the works of Goethe (17 volumes), of Shakespeare (8), and a German Anthology of 100 volumes. He had reference works like Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* (22) and *Brockhaus* (17), Herzog's *Realencyklopädie* (18), *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (77), Gerlach, *Die Heilige Schrift* (23). He had sets like Bluntschli's *Staatslehre*; von Mohl's *Encyklopädie*; Conrad's *Handbuch der Staatswissenschaften*; works of Roscher, Ratzenhofer, Stammler, Fausto Squillace, Comte, Spencer.

In Philosophy, there were about 300 works: the works of German classical philosophers like Kant, Fichte, Hegel; then of modern German philosophers—Lotze, Helmholtz, Teichmüller, Schwegler, Überweg, Michelet, Heinrich Ritter, Strümpfel, Erdmann, Zeller, Wundt, Paulsen, Sigwart, Windelband, Falckenberg, W. Volkmann. Representatives of American philosophers were McCosh, Porter, Harris, etc., whose works he had received as gifts.

## § 2. Supreme Aim to Christianize Civilization

If we elevate inheritance to heritage, the final question of this work will be: "What heritage did Stuckenberg leave

to his generation?" The answer to this would be in terms of his sociology: Not the labor of an individual, six feet tall, broadshouldered, two hundred pounds in weight; though, somehow, this description helps us to know something of the physical man. The answer would be: the personality, the soul forces that he contributed to society, or the forces which he had received from society, but returned to it reshaped, made over, re-created. What were these forces? They were unseen—as his "society", and yet "seen". They can not be physically measured or weighed, nor psychologically graphed or chartered. Personality defies measurements of this kind.

This book has mirrored a little of him, of his life and work. It can give a part-answer—the same answer that he gave to the drama of life: "‘Now we see through a glass darkly’—but we see."

This answer can be formulated into these words: His efforts were not alone to build up the "church visible," but to make Christianity the leaven of society in general. Christianity became for him a social power by making the believer a new social force. He therefore said that Christianity is not merely a church; it is the Kingdom of God, which embraces all the affairs and interests of men. Christianity thus is not merely religion in any narrow sense, not a spirituality of earthly concerns. "Christianity is civilization, a life with its abounding fulness." "Because Christ has come, business is changed, the family is different, men's relations have been altered, woman has risen to a higher plane, the laws and the state have been transformed." Stuckenberg stated this in a sermon on John 8:12, (I am the light of the world) and Luke 2:32 (A light to lighten the Gentiles).

For him the big problem was: the relation between Christianity and culture. He worked for a culture permeated with Christianity. This runs as a silver thread through all his books, where he refers to Christianity. He wanted to apply Christianity to culture, to Christianize civilization.



- § 3. Is Aim Attainable?—Sword of External, Temporal Order with Reason as Source of Law, Civic Righteousness, World Including “Gemachte (artificial)” Church; Facing Sword of Internal, Spiritual Order with Revelation as Source of Grace, Faith, Kingdom of Christ, or Spiritual (real) Church

Stuckenberg read from the New Testament that civilization can be Christianized. Luther could not read the New Testament this way, as has often been pointed out in this book. In the words of Sohm, Christianity is salt, not Lord of world: it can not produce a Christian order of this world. “Christianity has not the task to create a Christian world, for Christianization of the world always means the secularization (*verweltlichung*) of Christianity.” (*Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Dekret Gratians*, 1918, p. 564). Sohm was every bit as social-minded as Stuckenberg; but he looked to reason, not revelation (here Christianity) as a source for making the world socially better.

What attitude must be taken to this aim which one makes supreme and attainable, and the other unattainable? It must be granted that the Kingdom of God is not the so-called visible or organized Church. Luther’s conception is that this church is an *order of the world*. It is not the church of the third article, which church is the only thing in the world that has a right to be called church, the interaction of charismatic gifts given by the Spirit to men. This is the church “outside of which there is no salvation,” the church that the “portals of hell shall not overcome,” “the body of Christ.”

A visible “church” can not claim this dignity, but is subject to the laws of history: of growth and decline.

The invisible church alone is the Kingdom of God. It is the *Geistkirche* of the Augsburg Confession and of the entire Book of Concord, differing from what Luther calls the “gemachte Kirche” or what the Germans call *Kirchentum*, or Churchdom. This church can operate through organized churches, but also outside of them.

This spirit church (it is not a church of Quaker spiritual aristocracy!) is identical with the power of the Gospel, or spiritual Christianity—what God does through His Spirit in the heart, or soul, or conscience of man. It thus differs from institutionalized or organized Christianity. All this may be scaffold, but is not a part of the structure.

Luther makes Christianity, conceived of in this manner, identical with the Gospel, the Church, the Kingdom of God. He sometimes calls it *Predigtamt* against the function of the secular Sword (whatever is organized as state or social group is temporal). *Predigtamt* in this meaning does not refer to the *ordained* ministry as such, but to that great divine function common to all believers, to testify about the Kingdom of Christ and what pertains to it. *Predigtamt* thus is a function, not an office, which is function organized. It can operate through the ordained ministry, but also outside of it (*successio fidelium*).

But *Schwertamt* means the order of the world, government (parents, too, help to govern), all sociological life, where law or custom regulates man's life with man. No two people can live together without it. The righteousness in this sociological order is called civic righteousness, or that righteousness which humanity needs in order to avoid the selfinfliction of death.

This civic righteousness is not man-made or of evil. God has willed that it be for the protection of humanity on earth. It is not meritorious, however. It cannot make man just before God. It is the order of Creation. In its positive formulation it can, of course, deny its own spirit. In such a case, obedience to it may cause an inner conflict and invite passiveness or "disobedience". History records not a few such instances.

What makes man *just* before God, is another kind of righteousness, that kind which Paul says is given as a gift to the believers. This is righteousness by faith, not works. The Christian as Christian is, according to Luther, under no law which binds his conscience. A perfect Christian can live without the law. For he is in the "law" of love,

which motivates his deeds. Coercive law can not any more be a motive for him as a Christian; though it can and often must be that for him as a political being. For, he is a citizen of two kingdoms, of the temporal and of the eternal; and he must not confuse them by applying the "laws" of one of them to the other. Here lies the whole secret of separation between the spiritual and the temporal power, which our age, influenced by Geneva and Rome, erroneously identifies with separation between "State and Church" as if the visible church is not "world", or as if it is holier by being managed by a parliamentary body called synod than by state officials. It is here overlooked that government, or polity, is indifferent, according to Lutheran teaching. It is not indifferent in the system of Zwingli or of Calvin or of Rome or of *Taufertum* or Quakerism. With them it is divine.

If Stuckenberg's statement is to be accepted that Christianity is civilization (though he would not say that civilization is Christianity), it means that he makes Christ's revelation a *source* for human righteousness, for insight into the temporal ordering of things. It further means that reason, given by God to every normal being, is deemed insufficient for temporal matters on earth; and that it must be complemented or augmented by things *revealed* in revelation.

Using *revelation* as a *source* for things technical, or things pertaining to government, to economics, to sociology, the implication would be that if the government is bad and the economic system rotten, Christianity must come to its aid. The fact is, that if the government is bad and the economic system rotten, too little reason has been used. They are then irrational, and must be remade or reformed to become more rational. For, they have inherent laws to follow; if these laws are violated, the penalty is selfevident. Practically, also all "heathen" have laws against stealing, treachery, killing,—for self protection. Luther regarded the law of Moses as a *secular* law, binding on the Jewish nation. He made this law into Gospel, in his catechisms.

He said the Jews had Moses, and the Germans have the Saxon laws (*Sachsenspiegel*). Luther put a very high estimate on reason, but not too high.

There is a limitation to reason, as there is to revelation. As revelation cannot help in things material, so reason cannot help in spiritual matters, excepting in a formal way. Luther said, and he was right in saying it: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ my *Lord* or come to Him." To come to Christ means to receive forgiveness of sins. For sins separate man from this fellowship.

Stuckenberg, as we have seen, quoted Jesus as the light of the world. In what sense is He light? John 8:21 does not imply that He illuminates law and order, economics or politics. *Reason* does that; and reason is from God, and is good if followed in these matters. Too often folly is followed. John 8:12 teaches that the believer has in Jesus the light which is necessary for *true, spiritual life*. Only he who accepts the illumination going forth from Jesus, who sees in Jesus the *revelation of the heart of God*, has already here that divine vision, in which the supreme blessedness of eternal life consists, as Bernhard Weisz explains.

As the sun is the light of the physical world, so reason is the light of the social world, in which light all human relations must be seen. The light in which God, the deliverer from sin, is seen, is revelation. Christ alone is this revelation. God *manifested* himself at creation in nature, and man searched much for him in the past, using the light of reason to find him. But God *revealed* himself in his Son as gracious God and Father. Christ reveals the Father and he reveals nothing about a new philosophy, a new economics, a new sociology. He deals with the *inner* man, not with *outward* relations among men.

When Jesus said to a woman, "Neither do I condemn thee," his words did not imply that she could escape the penalty of transgression set by the courts of the land. He could forgive, but not act as temporal judge and set aside



the law. That is why he himself kept this law. Religiously, he did not need do so. Socially, he did not revise legislation. But he gave a new heart. Outwardly a man could conform, but inwardly he could be free. Respecting the woman—there is no need to question the text; it is actual if not factual—he retained the moral right of admonishing her: "Sin no more."

In the long drawn discussion in present-day Germany about "Order of Creation" and "Order of Salvation," one side overlooks the significance of the claim that the state leaves all matters of religion (relation with God) with the church people; while in outward matters, the state is the supreme authority. The party that objects to this, especially when it has a Roman Catholic or semi-Catholic view, fails to distinguish between external and internal matters, claiming the organized "church" is the church, and as such of another nature than the state and independent and beyond the reach of the hand of the state. Or, it classifies many things as religious (deals with God), which may be nothing but ecclesiastic practice, or church custom. And yet Germany is the land where the grand church idea of Paul—the spiritual church—was recovered, in the age of Luther. It was soon lost again, but was recovered once more by Rudolph Sohm who, moreover, accepts the distinction between juristic law and conventional regulation, a distinction rightly made by Rudolph Stammler, Germany's most outstanding authority in legal philosophy.

The confusion caused by those who refuse to concede that the visible church has obligations toward the state, and very strong ones, in matters that do not concern one's personal relation with God, is by no means confined to Germany. It has been resting heavily on Lutheran church life in America and has largely permeated the thought life of American Lutheranism.

The strongest evidence of this confusion appears in the claim that the Augsburg Confession teaches in the same way as does the Constitution of the United States about separation between church and state. The Constitution

naturally speaks of "establishment or religion", or the visible church, or visible creed, and does so, motivated by *political* wisdom. The Augsburg Confession speaks of the invisible church, the spiritual church, and does so *religiously* motivated.

The modern conceptions of state and church were both foreign to the Augustana, which distinguished between two powers: the secular and the spiritual. The secular refers to all temporal things where law, outward regulation, coercion obtain, whether involuntarily accepted or not. The spiritual power, however, has reference to religion, the inner man's relation with God. The union between "state and church" in many European countries is therefore no violation against this teaching. And the "separation" of them in America is no special observance of this teaching. For, the church which is here meant, is the visible church, a part of the world; and as such it is subject to the state, which as a matter of expediency grants it much autonomy. To teach freedom of the visible church from the state as a *divine* demand of Scripture is erroneous. To bestow pity, for example, on the Swedes because they have a "state" church and we in America have a "free" church, is childish. Both forms of government have their advantages and disadvantages. To try to *prove* that democracy is in greater accord with spiritual Lutheranism than is monarchy, or that monarchy is more religious than democracy would be equally childish. These matters pertain to the outward life. During the World War a church paper claimed that "Christianity is democracy!" What chaotic thinking!

The view of the relation between the *religious* and the social is only another phase of the view of the relation between the church and the state, or *gospel* and *law*. Sohm rightly argues that there are no "sociological" elements in the New Testament.

Let us ask, Why so?

Here we need, in order to answer the question rightly, exact definitions of the *religious* and the *social*, or of *religion* and *society*.

By religion we mean *the* religion, or personal Christianity. By personal Christianity we mean the work of the Spirit of Christ in man. The organized church and public worship do not constitute Christianity, though they can be schoolmasters to Christ. Liturgy for many may be merely the demands of esthetical man; for others, a religious blessing. For many again it may be "man seeking God;" which is the way of all religions save the Christian, in which, to the contrary, "God seeks man." Christianity is *not a doctrinal content*; it is *relation* with God, the relation of "heart", or "soul", or "conscience"; the relation of the inner man with God, through Christ.

And now, social life?

Let the jurist give his answer.

As Rudolph Stammler says: There is a firm criterion by which the concept of social life becomes conceivable as an object of science. This criterion is the moment of *will* which unites, obligates, and which manifests itself externally as *regulation* posited by man. Social life is a coöperation of man, which is *externally regulated*. Law is the *formal* way of living together. The inner life thus faces outward coöperation. *Inner* life is *moral*, but *external* life is *social*. All social life needs regulation, social volition. It requires conformity to laws, or regulations, which are binding upon all concerned, even if they only be two people. How can they live socially together without a tacit or express agreement to something? The idea of external regulation cannot be eliminated from society. Social life is *externally regulated coöperation of human beings*.

Religious life, the inner life of man with God, knows no outward regulations for the inner man. He is not under the law, but in, or under, the gospel. As a social being, however, he is under laws, whether he is a Christian or not. This life of the Christian as such in the New Testament is *not social*; the New Testament knows no Sociology. Sociology has reference to the outward life and is subject to reason. Reason can give all the needed information about this.

Indeed, the prophets were social. They had a social message. But the kingdom which they proclaimed, was the kingdom of God on *earth*; and the Messiah whom they had in mind, did not measure up to the Jesus Christ of the New Testament, whose kingdom was not of the world (*kosmos*, of external harmonious regulations). Hence the New Testament speaks of the *new* birth, the *new* man, who struggles against the old man, Adam. The subject of the new birth is not the psychological man, who may "know" very little about God's hidden work on and in him.

Prophecy prepared the way for this. It was a shadow cast by the coming Light. The bettered world here, when socially-religiously reformed, pointed forward as a testimony to the invisible perfect world to come, though not proceeding from evolution, or causation, but being a new creation of God (Heb. 1:1-2). Söderblom, Bohlin, Swedish theologians, find that also other nations have had prophets; but these theologians well declare that the Old Testament prophecy attained greater heights, by far. Professor Torm, of Denmark, finds that the fulfilment of prophecy always surpasses what the prophets prophesy. John the Baptist is an example, who was puzzled at the thoroughgoing spirituality of the new kingdom.

§ 4. Stuckenberg's Social-Ethical Enthusiasm Justifiable—Organized Church Justified in Doing Social Work So Far as Good for It. (I Cor. 6:12)

Stuckenberg was under the influence of theistic philosophers in Halle, one of whom even wrote a Christian philosophy. His was an age when theology wanted to justify itself before the bar of reason and natural science. It was an apologetic age. German theology has gotten past this, but much of England's and America's theology still is apologetic. Gladstone's reverence for *Butler's Analogy* is an example. But revelation needs no justification before reason, which Kant pronounced inadequate in transcendent matters. Stuckenberg had much love for Hegel, but more



for Kant whose dualism, however, he would not accept in its ultimate consequences.

Stuckenberg's social enthusiasm was a credit to him. His ethics can merit only the highest praise. But the dogmatic basis for this particular ethical enthusiasm was deficient, as it is with the social gospel workers in general. He could, in this respect, not compare with Luther, the man whom he treasured so highly. Yet, he was a Lutheran, firmly rooted in the teaching of the gospel of justification by faith. He could not be torn away from it through speculative concessions that he made. These concessions, however, were not rationalistic in the meaning that they granted too much to reason. In fact, they underrated it, because according to his logic, reason had to get a complement in revelation, in order to bring about a satisfactory social order. He therefore seemed to ascribe a role to revelation which it has never assumed to play.

A parallel can be drawn between Stuckenberg and Wilhelm Löhe. Löhe was not a consistent thinker as was Stuckenberg, and Stuckenberg was not a ritualist or confessionalist like Löhe. Löhe, indeed, did finally concede that the confessions could be improved, and that there was a higher church unity than the confessional. But he entertained very high conceptions of the ministry, much like a Catholic, and was even accused of holding Catholic views. But Löhe, too, was too well moored in "justification by faith"—the school term for *forgiveness* of sins—to be a non-Protestant or a non-Lutheran.

Stuckenberg's opponents criticised him for not being confessional and ritualistic enough. This criticism was unjustified. They chiefly aimed at teachings of his which were theologically invulnerable. He was, however, to use this disagreeable term, "vulnerable" in his *dogmatics* of a New Testament sociology. Ethically his system was commendable and, humanly speaking, he worked more assiduously than did his opponents, who were advocating to their visible churches a hands-off policy in social matters. They overlooked that the visible church itself is social; it works

socially as a unit. It is the *real* church which cannot do "sociological" work; for, its essence contradicts law, regulation or anything coercive as binding on man's conscience.

Stuckenberg and his opponents held practically the same opinion regarding the organized church. But he advocated that it should do social work; the others advocated the hands-off attitude for this church. Here Stuckenberg was right. All of them erred, however, in making this visible church a *Darstellung* of the church universal, or the unorganized, spiritual church.

§ 5. Stuckenberg's Works in Philosophy and Sociology Objectively Scientific and of International Reputation

The tendency of Stuckenberg to identify the church visible with the church invisible, even if he made this identification only partial and not entire, did not materially affect his *Life of Kant* or his other philosophical works, and especially not his works on Sociology, in which he evaluates religion as a *social* force, but does not discuss what it is—its metaphysics or theology. The Library of Congress "A. L. A. Catalogue", 1904, listing 8000 volumes, very fittingly catalogues his *Introduction to Philosophy* and his *Sociology* of 1903 as select works.

Before we take leave of this man of multiple gifts, it may be well to remind ourselves that what he wrote for the "Homiletic Review", especially in his Cambridge years, was intentionally practical rather than theoretical. The theoretical was reserved for his *Sociology* of 1903, including the *Introduction to Sociology*. His sermons, too, were practical, scriptural, and quite free from social argumentation.

As in Berlin, he had in Cambridge but little time for society. He did not invite himself to anybody. He more or less held aloof from society, simply to gain more time for his investigations. He was of the opinion that man could be very social, even if he did not mingle with society. The main thing that he considered was: "Does a person *contribute* to society?" And Stuckenberg contributed.

Within the period of the last thirty years, the writer of this book has hardly ever met a pastor on a train or elsewhere—a stranger—with whom he could not strike up an interesting conversation by mentioning the name of Stuckenberg.

His books were enjoyed also in England.

During his stay in Cambridge, Stuckenberg unwillingly interrupted a morning's work upon his manuscript to attend one of the sessions of the International Congress of Congregationalists, at Boston. But he came home refreshed and cheered because he had found that he was no stranger among some of the Englishmen. Dr. Albert Cave, principal of Hacking College and professor of Theology, on being introduced to him cried out: "What, Stuckenberg of Berlin! This is a great delight. I have been a reader of his books and am greatly indebted to him." A similar spirit of cordiality and recognition he met from Professor A. M. Fairbairn and W. D. Simonds of England, who both lectured at his evening meetings in Berlin.

The interest which the Japanese evidenced in regard to him has been referred to before in this book. His status as a sociologist in Italy brought about negotiations for the translation into Italian of his *Introduction to the Study of Sociology* with Dr. Fausto Squillace, who took the initiative. Dr. Squillace had considerable correspondence with Stuckenberg. (Squillace, *Die soziologische Theorien*, in German by R. Eisler, 1911.)

Professor Paul Barth, Leipzig, refers in his *Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie* to the sociological views of Stuckenberg, praising him for giving Social Ethics a place in his Sociology. It was hard for Barth, however, to be in full sympathy with sociologists of the idealistic school. Barth's sociological teaching was of the materialistic trend.

Mr. W. H. Dawson, of England, gave expression to what he owed to Stuckenberg by writing to Mrs. Stuckenberg: I owed much to him in this matter, particularly in regard to German problems. On September 20, 1904, Professor J. Q. Dealey, of Brown University, who along with Lester

Ward got out a volume on Sociology, wrote a letter to Stuckenberg, not knowing that the latter was dead, and related that he was having a graduate class in Sociology, and was using his two volumes on Sociology as a basis. He was anxious to get a pamphlet collection of topics for the Library, and to include all that Stuckenberg had written on the subject. He asked, whether Stuckenberg could not supply this?

This letter would have pleased Stuckenberg, if he still had been among the living. It was tragic that he should pass away so soon. For the age of sixty-seven, though he felt his years—army life even for chaplains can be exacting—was no age for him. He had, shortly before he died, written an essay on eminent men who were active as scholars and professors at the age of seventy and eighty.

Stuckenberg's early death deprived his last work of the circulation which it otherwise would have had. It was mentioned in works by Ross and by Ellwood and others before the War. German books then began to fare none to well, elementary texts books being consumed at high school *autos da fe*, and the books written by German University professors disappearing from the bibliographies in English works. Though Stuckenberg's works are in English, his long stay in Berlin and admiration for German scholarship, appearing on every page of his last book, may have relegated them to the background when the martial spirit was sweeping through the country. Perhaps natural oblivion offers the best explanation. It is significant, nevertheless, that he is again coming into the public eye. *The Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, vol. XIV. contains a brief article about him signed by L. L. Bernard and F.-K. Kruger. *The Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XVIII. presents a sketch of his life by the author of the present Life. Many pages are devoted to Stuckenberg's two chief sociological works, *Introduction* and *Sociology* in *Principios de Sociologia*, I. II (1929) by Dr. Adolfo Posada, of the University of Madrid.



## § 6. Sermons Remembered

His sermons were not easily forgotten. At the time of the inauguration of Dr. Patton to the presidency at Princeton, a reception was held for Stuckenberg, who was then visiting America. It was this visit which among other things resulted in his being elected honorary member of the Clio at Princeton. Dr. Robert Speer, who was a student at that time, years later greeted Mrs. Stuckenberg with the words: "I have never forgotten the sermon Dr. Stuckenberg preached to us then. I was able to write it out quite fully in my journal." "I have consulted it since."

Dean Bauslin, of Wittenberg College, once related to its Vice-President Prince, that the most powerful sermon he ever heard was preached by Stuckenberg. President McKnight of Gettysburg College called his sermons "massive".

A sermon of great effect was also preached by him at Gettysburg: "Now we see as in a glass darkly." It received much favorable comment at the time. Stuckenberg was himself so gripped by this text that he wanted it inscribed on his tombstone when gone. He wanted the words added, however: "But we see." Eternal life projected into the midst of humanity, appears on earth like the refracted ray in a prism. One sees by it, but this "dark" seeing is richly prophetic of the restored vision, the clarified vision to come—a time when the things that at present are obscuring Eternity will permanently fall away.

## § 7. The Unfinished Book on Education

His last manuscript was *Purpose and Method of Study*. It was dedicated to the man whom he considered most familiar with his views, President Henry Churchill King, of Oberlin College. It had been his wont to preface his books with an "Introduction," a propaedeutic treatise. In *Tendencies in German Thought* (1896) the propaedeutic portion came as the closing chapter and bore the title "The Purpose and Method of the Scholar and the Thinker."

Commissioner Harris of the National Bureau of Education recognized the educator in him. He wrote to Stucken-

berg in 1896: "I recognize in you a co-worker in the cause of spreading spiritual views about man and nature and supplanting the materialism of the time."

#### § 8. Fragments of a Manuscript on Psychology

Besides writing a chapter on "Philosophy and Empirical Psychology" in his *Introduction to Philosophy* and three articles on Psychology in the *Homiletic Review*, Stuckenberg left fragments of a manuscript on Psychology. It shows that he had made quite a study of works by Volkman-Cornelius, Drobisch, Steinthal, Beneke, Waitz, Kussmaul, Burdach, Wundt, Brentano, Höffding, Ladd, and Dewey.

With Beneke and Wundt, he regarded Psychology as a basic science, granting that it was largely an empirical science, though he maintained that a part of it could not be separated from Philosophy. Psychology, he claimed, was the basis of all other studies. With Höffding, he did not define "soul". The term "soul" could be used in *Psychology* without assuming that it was either material or immaterial, especially since no one knew what matter was. He referred to "soul" as used in Psychology, and not as used in the Bible, which regards man in his entirety and not as Descartes did, who divided him into two halves. According to the Bible, man does not *have* a soul, but he *is* soul (I Cor. 15:45). Soul here denotes the totality of man's life-unity, comprised in his I-consciousness. Entire man, not only the "soul", is responsible before God. Plato's idea of immortality can not measure up to Paul's idea of resurrection. Stuckenberg objected to the claim that Psychology had to take orders from Natural Sciences in its method of approach. What entitled Natural Science to the leadership? he asked. If Psychology were the fundamental science, how could it take its laws from sciences based on it. "All knowing is a psychological act. Natural Science is a knowing whose object is nature; it is simply the result of a psychological act." Referring to Dewey's "conscious experience," he said he should like to

know what unconscious experience was like. He regarded time and space as abstractions, without reality. Also consciousness and experience he viewed as abstractions, as purely psychological terms. He was skeptical of applying Psychology to Education—and so were James and Münsterberg at the outset. "Unless Psychology is made Philosophy, or at least includes it, the ideal of Education is not even made the aim in these efforts." He could not admit the claim that Psychology is the law of mental development. That prerogative, he asserted, belonged to Philosophy with its norms, ideals, and principles. "But a knowledge of Psychology is a condition for their application in Pedagogics." He condemned what later was practised in many circles in America of substituting Psychology for Philosophy. "Though Psychology as an empirical science is not a part of Philosophy, it is an introduction to it and it culminates in philosophy." In denying that experiment must be omnipotent or even multipotent in Psychology, he anticipated the trend since 1925, indicated by H. Henning in *Psychologie der Gegenwart* (1932): "Psychology has departed from the purely experimental spirit. Experiment is no longer regarded as an ultimate end in itself, but only as an excellent auxiliary in clarifying theoretical problems. During these last years, Psychology has absorbed a great amount of social (Geisteswissenschaftliche) ideas."

#### § 9. Affinity with English Thinking

It may not be amiss to inquire what the English world thought of Stuckenberg's *Philosophy* though that was published fifteen years before he died. No direct answer from an Englishman is available, outside of the reviews of 1888. However, the answer can perhaps be best obtained from Stuckenberg himself. There was no English philosopher in whom he recognized his own philosophy so much as in the writings of Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, twenty-one years his junior. Pringle-Pattison, too, tried to unite the best in English philosophy with the best in German philosophy.

Says Alban G. Widgery about this English scholar: "There is no British philosopher whose attitude would be more acceptable for general adoption—if the facts of experience and of intense human feelings would allow." This wholesomeness of attitude we likewise find in Stuckenberg's writings, also in those which do not bear the caption of philosophy. Even in his addresses to Labor Unions the eyes of his soul were resting upon the Ultimate and he was trying to see things in relation with it.<sup>30</sup>

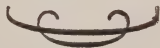
§ 10 Resting Place in National Cemetery, Gettysburg

The remains of Stuckenberg were finally conveyed to the National Cemetery, Gettysburg, once the battlefield on which he had lifted up his voice in solemn prayer at his regiment's entry into the battle, and had helped wounded men. Beside him are the remains of his beloved wife, who died on February 3, 1934. Her name and the date of her birth and of her death were added later on the monument to the information it gives about her husband.

Since this monument is that of a soldier, it is silent about the pastorates Stuckenberg served, the professorship he had, the books he wrote, the degrees he held and the distinctions conferred upon him. With military terseness it states what he was to the Army: "Chaplain 145. Pa. Vol's."

Below this are hewn in large letters these words of his own choosing:

"NOW WE SEE THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY"—  
BUT WE SEE.





## APPENDICES



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# Appendix I

## NOTES TO TEXT

1) The first documentary source relative to Stuckenberg is the Church Record of the Lutheran church of the parish of Bramsche. It contains data about several Stuckenbergs. Mrs. Stuckenberg consulted it, and was given a transcript of the data. However, the lack of specific information makes it impossible with certainty to trace the family tree. Accordingly, we can not begin with other ancestors than his parents and his paternal grandfather concerning whom we know that they moved from the ancestral farm in Oldenburg to Bramsche. Two aunts of Stuckenberg, on the paternal side, Mrs. Dietrich Schmidt and Mrs. Pentermann, came to the United States sometime after their brother's arrival. Respecting his mother's relatives, it is stated that she had two cousins, Putfark and Winkelmann.

2) Justus Möser states in his *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, 1768, that up to his time no Osnabrücker had emigrated to America. In John O. Evjen's *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674* (Minneapolis, 1916), the name of Juriaen Hendricksen from Osnabrück is listed in the Appendix as one who went to New York in 1639. Several other people from Osnabrück came to America in the seventeenth century.

3) "Rite vocatus" in the Augsburg Confession has only to do with the public office of preaching; that is with the preaching which does not belong to the Church in its religious meaning. From the Church in its religious meaning, there goes forth only the preaching office (rather function; for office is organized function) which is common to all Christians. The general preaching office (universal priesthood), lacking all legal authority, exists *jure divino* (in Protestant meaning); that is, by virtue of what the nature of Christianity is.

See Rudolph Sohm, *Weltliches und geistliches Recht*, 1914, pp. 56-57; also Sohm's *Kirchenrecht* II, pp. 140-141; further, John O. Evjen, *Ministry and Ordination*, in "Theological Magazine of the Evangelical Synod of North America," March, May, July, September, 1929 (St. Louis); likewise, John O. Evjen, *What is Lutheranism?* (pp. 6-33) in the volume "What is Lutheranism?" edited by Vergilius Ferm (Macmillan Co. 1930).

Passavant's conception of the public ministry as governed by the Holy Spirit is Catholic teaching, though no doubt advocated by the majority of Lutherans in America. Perhaps in no other field is doctrinal confusion, with attendant theological quarrel and misunderstanding, so disastrous as in that which makes the organized church and the minister matters *jure divino*, while they are *jure humano*, as Luther and his great interpreter Sohm teach.

4) There is much taken for granted in this address. See Otto Kirn, *Grundriss der Evangelischen Dogmatik*, 1900, p. 46.

5) The "Erie Lutheran," October, 1911, contains an article *The Fifth Anniversary*, going back to the founding of the church by Stuckenberg. On p. 2 is an alleged picture of the church, "built in 1862." Mrs. Stuckenberg, seeing this, wrote in the margin of the copy she had received: "Think of portraying our neat satisfactory First Church of Erie like that!" When the preacher J. Lawson Smith had left the General Synod, taking the Erie church with him into the new body, the General Council, he saw nothing improper in writing to F. W. Conrad, editor and member of the General Synod: "Let all this be *inter nos*, and if you can in an indirect manner notice our cause here, it will be to my advantage—the advantage of the Church. We are still of the Lutheran family and let us be brethren." There was considerable of the *inter nos* diplomacy going on in those days of ecclesiastical controversy.

6) Two-thirds of the Lutheran population (total ca. 70,000,000) about thirty years ago did not accept the entire Book of Concord. See John O. Evjen, *Scandinavia and the Book of Concord* (Lutheran Quarterly, XXXVI) and, by the same author, *Lutheran Germany and the Book of Concord* (Lutheran Quarterly, XXXVI). Both articles were also published in pamphlet form. When certain Norwegian church bodies in our country state on the ministerial ordination certificate that the candidate adheres to the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism "understood as developed and explained in the other Synodical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," this phrase in quotation marks has crept in without being authorized. It owes its origin in these certificates to thoughtless copying of certificates of ordination from other bodies. See Evjen, *Et Kapitel fra Symbolforpligtelsens Historie* . . . (Minneapolis, 1911). These facts are referred to as history, without contentious motive.

7) Henry Sloan Coffin, Presbyterian, in *The Ten Commandments*, 1915, appears to be more in accord with Luther's idea of the Lord's Day than was Stuckenberg in 1867. Coffin had been at the University of Marburg.

8) Ernst Troeltsch interprets the Lutheran Church as a *Schriftkirche*. This interpretation is ably refuted by Rudolph Sohm, *Kirchenrecht* II (pp. 132-135). Troeltsch fares none too well at the hands of Sohm, who, with admiration for much that Troeltsch says, critically analyses the latter's *Social Teachings of the Church* and indicates serious errors in the book.

Who is Rudolph Sohm? Professor Erich Foerster, of the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, designates Sohm and Karl Holl *ohne Widerspruch* zu fürchten als die genialsten Interpreten des reformatorischen, protestantischen Christentums. He calls them both *Lutherkenner von Rang*. Professor Heinrich Frick, of the University of Marburg, states in his recent book *Deutschland innerhalb der religiösen Weltlage* (1936) that in order to know Luther and the Reformation in their original richness, one must study the younger Luther, when he was creatively at his best. He adds: *Diesen Luther hat im Deutschland der letzten Generation für die Theologie keiner so eindringlich und folgerichtig zur Herrschaft zu bringen gesucht, wie das der Kirchenrechtler Sohm für sein Fachgebiet anstrebte.* Frick deploras that in the recent church controversies in Germany, many *anstatt in der Richtung Sohms zum Lutherischen radikalen Urverständnis des Evangeliums zurückzukehren, mehr oder weniger, meistens unbewusst, katholisierenden Kirchengedanken erlegen sind.* . . . *Wir bekennen uns zu der Anschauung Rudolph Sohms. Wir sind uns dessen bewusst, dass wir damit den zur Zeit im Protestantismus Deutschlands vorherrschenden Anschauungen vom Wesen der Kirche widersprechen. Trotzdem scheint uns Sohm im Recht gewesen zu sein, und wir hoffen auf den künftigen Sieg seines wesentlichen Anliegens.*

Sohm's main thesis, set forth in 1892, is: *Das Wesen des Kirchenrechts steht mit dem Wesen der Kirche im Widerspruch.* Frick endorses it: *Sowohl geschichtlich als grundsätzlich halten wir Sohms These für richtig.*

*Kirchenrecht*, it must be explained, is, as meant here, not external laws for external organisations which we call churches; and *Kirche* is not a visible church, but *Geistkirche*.

Sohm's conception of the Church—it is Luther's—is the conception that permeates the Book of Concord from cover to cover, says Professor R. Oeschey, the Leipzig jurist: "From the first 'credo' to the last 'In timore Dei . . . superscripsimus,' the Book of Confessions (Concord) knows only one single concept of the church. It is the church of the Spirit, *societas fidei et Spiritus Sancti in cordibus* (Luthertum, 1935, pp. 161, seq.)

Says Professor Franz Rendtorff, of Leipzig: "*Von der äusseren Kirche, die immer nur Kirche im abgeleiteten Sinne ist, ob sie nun lutherisch oder reformiert oder sonstige heisst, sagt Luther, steht kein Wort im Neuen Testament. Von der äusseren Kirche steht auch in der Augustana kein Wort.*" See his: *Die Botschaft der deutschen Reformation: Festrede bei der Augustanafeier . . . am 25. Juni 1930 . . . zu Augsburg* (p. 6).

This church appeared so fantastic to the Catholics that they called it a dream, a non-reality, a *civitas Platonica*. Melancthon assured them it was no dream. All organized churchdom is to the church of the Confession as clothes is to the body; clothes can serve the body, but is not a part of the body, says Sohm.



The church is the product of the Holy Spirit (3d article, Luther's explanation). Thousands of forms may serve it. But no form is church, not even a compromise church, if this were possible. The church is so incompatible with demonstration that even a congregation, in which all its members are Christians, is not a *Darstellung* of the church, the body of Christ, as Otto Scheel, in the spirit of Sohm, rightly sets forth in his *Evangelium, Kirche und Volk bei Luther* (1934).

The General Synod cherished partly Calvin's and partly Zwingli's conception of the Church. It stated that Jesus Christ is the "true and only head" of the visible church. It regarded a congregation or a synod as a section of the universal Church of the third article in the Apostles' Creed. In this creed, *Christenheit* is the invisible church only. To the very last the General Synod confessed that "Jesus Christ is the Supreme Head of His Church," meaning the "visible church" established on earth. The General Council did not differ in this teaching, which conceals an unhappy dualism and cannot but cause confusion with attendant controversy.

The view advanced by these church bodies—and are there many exceptions?—is the result of environmental thought. Calvin claimed the headship of Christ is to be understood not merely as spiritually moral, but also as politico-juridical. (Karl Rieker, *Grundsätze Reformierter Kirchenverfassung*, 1899, p. 61). There are exceptions to this way of thinking even among the Reformed groups. Thus the Lord President in the Aukerarder case, in Scotland, said: "That our Saviour is the Head of the Kirk of Scotland in any temporal or legislative or judicial sense, is a position which I can dignify by no other name than absurdity." (Rieker, 109). Well and wisely said!

Both Luther and Melancthon could conceive of a *human* head for the entire visible "church" on earth (Catholic), if the Gospel could flow freely. For to them, this or any other "visible church" was not a church. It was "Welt". For Luther, the "visible church" was an external community, concerning which there is not a letter to be found in Scripture (61). For Luther, a visible church exists *not by divine law, but by human law*. According to Luther, the true Church—and there is no other—is neither Catholic, Lutheran, nor Reformed—it is the communion of saints, an invisible kingdom, governed by its invisible Head, Jesus Christ, through the invisible power of his Word. This Church exists wherever God's Word has found a place to abide, but it exists only for faith. It *remains hidden for the senses*.

"What we call visible church, this complex of external institutions, congregations, dioceses, synods, ministerial offices, church governments—this *societas externarum rerum ac rituum*, as the Apology says, is from Luther's point of view, nothing else than 'a piece of world' and it stands in no closer relation to the invisible Church than does any other *Gemeinschaft*, gathered in Christ's name." (60).

The conception of church as held by Lutherans in America in Stuckenberg's days affected his views concerning "sociological principles" of the Church. Sohm denies that they existed either in the Apostolic age or in the ancient Catholic church up to ca. 1150, when Gratian drew the line of demarcation—and right he was—between sacramental law which had governed the church the period between 95 and 1150, and corporation law after 1150, when it is represented by pope or council and deals as a collective quantity (legal person) with God.

The year 1937 commemorates the 400th anniversary of the Schmalkald Articles, written by Luther, in rugged language, compared with the softly stepping Augsburg Confession. Luther here says a "seven years old child knows what the church is, namely the holy believers and the lambs who hear the voice of their Shepherd. This holiness consists . . . in the Word of God and in the right Faith."

Professor Otto Scheel, our leading Luther biographer, states in his excellent booklet *Evangelium Kirche und Volk* (1934, p. 17) that Luther's view was endangered under his very eyes.

Luther's fundamental view of the Church was presented both in the Augsburg Confession and in the Apology; but Melancthon prepared, in both, a way for the differentiation according to which there is a church in the 'real' and in the broader meaning (*ecclesia proprie dicta* and *ecclesia large dicta*). "This distinction remained foreign to Luther." Scheel states that if Luther had had any-

thing to do with such a distinction, or differentiation, he could never have effectively opposed the abuse which was destroying the Church.

Scheel here refers to Ernst Rietschel, *Das Problem der unsichtbar-sichtbaren Kirche bei Luther*, as arriving at the same result. For pertinent Sohm literature on this entire subject, see: John O. Evjen, *Dr. Rudolph Sohm: Jurist and Church Historian* (The North Press, Minneapolis).

That church bodies which largely depend on the Swiss Reformers or on the Council of Trent, have almost insurmountable difficulty in revising their definition of Church to make it agree with that voiced by that seven years old child, of the type Luther had in mind when he wrote the Schmalkald Articles—is quite self-evident.

9) See: In the Matter of the Application of the Change of the Charter of Hebron Evangelical Lutheran Church of Leechburg. Testimony of the Respondents (Pittsburgh).

10) It is commendable to advocate sociality and sociability. For, all organizations except such as, for the sake of cold business, fortify themselves with adamantean impersonality, need the social or sociable element. Even "cold business" cannot get along entirely without it. But sociability—"social graces"—no matter how lovely, is a human factor. It is that in Ferdinand Tönnies *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887). It is nothing but that in the Oxford Movement either, which confuses this laudable trait with what the New Testament calls *koinonia*—fellowship, or communion. Emil Brunner says, No other fellowship, worth the name, is possible than this *koinonia*, or Christian fellowship. But he erroneously makes it visible, as does Stuckenberg. According to the views of Luther, *koinonia* and *ekklesia* (fellowship and church) are identical. Either term means for him a spiritual, invisible (to natural man) fellowship of human beings as Christians with God, the Father of Jesus Christ, through Christ, and therefore with Christ and the believers. *Koinonia* also means for Luther fellowship in invisible holy things.

In all this a purely religious relation with God is meant, God's love (*Agape*, not *eros*) making its way into human hearts, uncontrollable, unpredictable like the mighty waters of a river, or like softly falling dew. This "church" is not mentioned in the Sermon on the Mount. Yet it permeates almost every line of it.

Scripture calls it "church of God," "church of Christ," "Israel," "flock," "called," "elect," "saints," "sons of Abraham," "People of God." What makes the church one body, or one unity, is of exclusively religious nature: the one faith in the divine Spirit, the one trait in the conduct of life. This church is an object of faith, not of sight. Stuckenberg's "church" is more on the visible order, and not an object of faith. "You believe what you cannot see," said Luther.

It is true that Melancthon's Apology calls the church a *societas*; but this society is not *sicut aliae politicae* (organizations) recognized in time and space by natural man. It is *principaliter* (according to its nature) a *societas fidei in cordibus*, "faith's fellowship in the hearts, or consciences of men. And this church (which is a *societas fidei* and has *externa nota*) *sola dicitur corpus Christi*, which Christ through his spirit renews, sanctifies and governs." The signs—Word and Sacraments—are "external" to the believer alone. He alone "sees" the power of the Word and Sacraments. The non-believer only hears the dead word, sees the lifeless thing. They mean nothing to him.

Even a non-Christian like Aristotle defined man as a *social* being. Sympathy is a social trait, but need not be Christian. Two ministers who once pointed to the "Christianity" of David because he wept over the death of his son Absalom, were astonished at the boldness of two young theological students, who replied that David's weeping was the natural expression of a kind father, and that it was not peculiarly Christian; a heathen father would have wept in the same manner. Stuckenberg's views, indeed, are too evangelical to need such a corrective. But he did at this time vacillate. He seems to have been wanting to express, what Reinhold Seeberg teaches in his *Christliche Ethik* (1936) that every personal ethical act is at the same time socio-ethical.

Stuckenberg's plea at this time for "Christian social power"—and it is repeated over and again in his writings and to the very end of his life—must

stand corrected if he makes Revelation a *source* for the social. His appeal should be that man shall use his *reason*; this being a gift from God; man shall also make use of sociality in transmitting the Word, as one uses the sociality inherent in language for the same purpose. For example, English is used in this way for imparting spiritual truth to English speaking people. Without English, preaching to the average Englishman would on the whole be impossible. The Russian language will perform the same social service for the Russians. But neither language is a part of Christianity. Language can be equally well used in the service of iniquity. Sociality can be used the same twofold way. It is a neutral instrument, like a water main conveying pure or impure water. Sociability is often termed "grace"; but it may not always be Christian grace. It belongs more to the field of nature, or creation. God reveals himself in the work of the Spirit, in *successio fidelium*.

11) Professor Otto Kirn rejects the use of parables as dogmatic *proof* material, owing to its illustrative character. Professor Anders Nygren, of the University of Lund, does likewise; the parables are not means of proof, but they are means of revelation. Revelation is independent of mathematical, physical or philosophic *proof*. It lies on a higher level and deals with eternal relations, not temporal, when its meaning is understood. A parable has only one central thought or theme. For instance, it does not demonstrate that a thing *had to be so*, but says that it is so. In the parable about the Prodigal, the father does not act after the manner of a human father, who is moved by sympathy or acts conditionally. A human father would have put his son on probation. But God's love is not motivated by human behavior or "ends". It is purely spontaneous, unmotivated love. Man, even the best of fathers, can be no model for God. The elder son represents the common opinion; he, too, feels that the father's love is unmotivated.

In the parables, love has found its most profound expression. Justice does not enter into consideration. Justice was the "virtue" of the Greeks, Romans, and Scribes. It is reward or retribution.

Professor Nygren also brings out that Jesus came not to *judge* the sick. The Jews claimed that sickness was divine retribution. Jesus came to *help* the sick. They, too, were called, and not set aside. His healing, too, was spontaneous, and not a means devised in order to gain them for the kingdom.

The fact that the parable has only one theme is also set forth by Emanuel Hirsch. He refers to the Parable of the Good Samaritan. It "says nothing else than that a stranger (foreigner) can form a fellowship in love; and a heartless man of one's own race can refuse it." It might be well to remind ourselves that Hirsch brings out clearly Luther's idea of the kingdom of God as differing from that of justice. Justice is necessary for human society, but differs from the righteousness given by God. "Justice is the necessary form for all contents of human-social existence." See his *Deutschlands Schicksal: Staat, Volk und Menschheit im Lichte einer ethischen Geschichtsansicht* (1925, p. 73).

12) In our age when European theologians are calling attention to the large place Psychology holds in Melancthon's theology, which has formed Lutheran Orthodoxy at the expense of Luther, the quotations in the text are prophetic. Melancthon falsely conceived faith as a psychological organ of man, an instrument (hand) given to man for laying hold of salvation. Man thus becomes passive, and faith is easily conceived of as a *condition* for obtaining grace. Faith accordingly can be separated from deeds, and easily become a *work* with which one does something in order to be justified. But Luther does not consider faith as a psychologic function against deed. According to his view, faith includes works. Faith denotes a certain relation to God, and no distinction is made respecting dissimilar psychologic functions. Man is considered as a totality.

The treatment accorded by Pietism to penitence as a stage to go through in the order of salvation can be traced back to Melancthon, but not to Luther. For Luther, the subject of penitence is not natural man, or *liberum arbitrium*. In his view, the subject of penitence is the *new* man; God works the penitence. Luther does not regard man as a metaphysically determined quantity and man as a psychologically determined unity. Natural law is no psychologic disposition.

For Melancthon, salvation receives an empirically psychological meaning. He even teaches the *legis tertius usus*, the third use of the law, for the Christian.



For Luther, however, law means two things: law that regulates man's life with man, and law that condemns him. To be a Christian is to be free from the condemning law. The former law regulates the external man. The Christian knows no other law for the inner man than the law of love. "*Societas* in the Melanchthonian sense is a Utopia," says Professor Ragnar Bring; and he adds, "The new morality implied in faith is unable, according to its nature, to regulate external life." The danger in this psychologizing is, he says, that man must then be regarded as subject. Flacius, too, was influenced by Melanchthon's psychology. This teaching found its way into the Book of Concord.

One of the ablest works on the New Luther Theology is that of Ragnar Bring, professor in the University of Lund: *Förhållandet mellan tro och gärningar inom luthersk teologi*. I *Iustitia actualis*, II *Iustitia civilis*. *Acta Academiae Aboensis humaniora*, IX (1933). In the light of this book, one will see how puerile some of the confessional polemics have been in Lutheran Synods, independent of the side the contestants took.

Much of the doctrinal confusion in Lutheran schools of thought is due to Melanchthon. His conception of society, natural law, decalogue, will, faith, psychological experience, contradicts that of Luther, and wrought much havoc among the theologians who framed the Formula of Concord, consequently also in the theology of the 17th century, which is as Melanchthonian as it is Lutheran. Dr. Bring particularly shows that for Luther faith, or revelation, is never a source for secular (social, economic, political) order; and reason is never a source for religious matters. They must not be confused.

13) Mrs. Emma B. Scholl was then the general historian. Her history about the origin of the Society is not a critical history. It holds its own, however, compared with the report of that Committee of the Synod appointed in 1911, reporting in 1912.

14) Mrs. J. F. Seebach's *Those Forty Years* mentions as a possible incentive to the movement, a letter from a missionary, read in May 1875, before a meeting of the General Synod. She also speaks of visions coming to J. K. Bloom and A. I. Crigler. Also Mrs. Stuckenberg receives some pioneer credit, due to a letter, June 7, 1875, stating the idea came from Rev. Anderson, at Knoxville, Ill. It is not stated when Mrs. Stuckenberg met Rev. Anderson. Nothing is said about missionary societies in Springfield and Xenia. It is conceded to Mrs. Stuckenberg that she was a pioneer among the women in Ohio "if any one person may be so called."

The fact remains that Mrs. Stuckenberg, aided by her husband—or put it the other way, as he did—he aided by her—founded the Society. A detailed report of the Women's Missionary Societies in the various bodies of the General Synod is contained in *Proceedings of the 29th Convention of the General Synod . . . assembled at Wooster, Ohio, June 11-18, 1879*. The report was signed by Stuckenberg as chairman. He had collected the information in this report, and had been present giving advice at the meeting of the women at Canton who organized the central society. "The thanks of the Synod were extended to Dr. Stuckenberg for his excellent service, and the expense which he had incurred were ordered paid." (Minutes, p. 13.)

15) About the "religious-social" movement and the social gospel.—None has excelled Rudolph Sohm in interpreting Luther's views concerning the relation between Law and Society, on the one hand, and the Gospel and the Kingdom of God, on the other. In estimating the religious worth of what is called "social gospel", it is well to go to Luther, as interpreted by Sohm, for aid. For, his position here seems to be the only warrantable one. Sohm's statement in a letter, quoted by Ernst Troeltsch, declares that the Gospel has certainly been understood as social and as containing a social program. But this understanding is a misunderstanding, Sohm declares; if the Gospel would contain a social program, it would become a law to be enforced, sometimes relatively, at other times radically. He credits the Lutheran Reformation with having done much to conquer this misconception entertained in the Middle Ages.

It may here be reiterated that Sohm finds nothing "sociological" in the Church before about the twelfth century. Troeltsch, however, finds sociological factors



at work already in the sixth century and latent in the first century. Both differ from A. Harnack, who claimed that also civil life, in its totality and with its order of property, required from the position assumed by primitive Christianity an independent order, since Christians could not unconditionally recognize the legal order set up by the state. Accordingly, the idea of Canon Law, universally binding, was already present and active in primitive Christianity.

Sohm regards this view as untenable and quotes Troeltsch's "brilliant presentation" as a refutation: "The idea of a Christian civilization, of an order of life in its totality which would permeate the world, shape and renew it, is utterly remote, as is also every conception demanding a social reform emanating from the Church." Sohm comments that the Church was exclusively interested in religion during the entire age of the Western Empire and several centuries beyond that. It is no concern of the Church to apply *Rechtsordnung* (legal order) to the world and its problems, thus offering a solution of its needs and ills. The Church has no thought of starting a social reform, of filling the world with the spirit of Christianity. The ancient Church, like the Gospel, was purely religious in its nature; it was a power wholly directed toward the religious. (Sohm, *Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus*, 1912, p. 60.)

While Troeltsch believed he could find a sociological element at work in the Church in the sixth, though only latent already in the first, century, Sohm proved that it was not latent in the early Church and did not appear before in the twelfth century, when the Church ceased to be governed by Sacramental Law (c. 95-1150) and became a corporation, governed by Corporation Law. See Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (1912); and Sohm, *Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Dekret Gratians* (1918), also *Kirchenrecht II* (1923). Sohm convincingly shows that both Harnack and Troeltsch are in error; moreover, that the Church of the Apostles' Creed, not being of the world, does not concern itself with the sociological. He contends that the ethical consequences of brotherly love, received through divine love, can not be comprised into "law" or a "program", valid for all times. These consequences, therefore, are no part of the Gospel, however laudable they may be, because the Gospel is the message of salvation for all times. Its content is exclusively religious.

Troeltsch's *Social Teachings* is rated in America as a standard work. This is not difficult to explain: It gives a classic expression to a deeply and extensively rooted belief. It must be said, however, that Troeltsch's star is no longer one of first magnitude. It set with the setting of the religio-historical school, upon which A. Harnack continually frowned. The World War meant for Troeltsch the collapse of the structure he had reared on the pillars of Evolutionism and Optimism, assuming that the Good would spontaneously proceed from the Evil. His attitude to the Reformation was negative. With Tillich, he rejected "justification by faith" as no longer actual. Karl Holl stated that Troeltsch had but little understanding of Luther and Calvin. Emil Brunner declares that in matters of Reformation faith, Troeltsch is an outsider.

We shall come back to Troeltsch later. But just here it may be well to get the opinion of Brunner about orthodox leaders like Stöcker and Wichern, practical advocates of religious-social work. We are told that Wichern's aim was a political socialism, whose source was to be the spirit of the Bible. In order to make this idea bear fruit, it was necessary, however, to build a theological foundation under it. Wichern was unable to do this. Much of the same inability, we learn, characterised Stöcker. The later religious-social advocates, it is claimed, had the foundation, but were unable to unite realism with Biblical thinking. Their ethics, Brunner declares, was either the ethics of Anabaptism or, as is true of the circle sponsored by Tillich, only an apparently Christian Hegelianism. This socialism, we are further told, was far behind that of men like Kutter and Ragaz in Switzerland. As to the entire movement of religious socialism, Brunner says it is not German; it came to Germany from other lands. He stresses this fact especially for the benefit of G. Wuensch, a former Marxian, and now a voluminous writer on religious ethics, which, according to the opinion of the Zürich theologian, like all ethics never can be anything but *interim* ethics. He emphatically asks, What has the American Social Gospel in common with the religious-social movement on the continent?

As to Friedrich Naumann, there was hardly any one superior to him in championing the "social implications" of the Gospel. He at first supported Stöcker, but finding him too conservative, he gradually perceived that the Gospel, or Christianity, does not contain a social message. As stated elsewhere, Sohm was likely the person who convinced Naumann of this.

M. v. Nathusius, in *Die Mitarbeit der Kirchen an der Lösung der sozialen Frage* (1897, 2d ed.), was most extreme in championing the Gospel as socially creative. He claimed to have discovered a special social idea, or character, peculiar to Christianity. He found it nowhere but in the Gospel. Accordingly, the Gospel imparts a peculiar social quality to the world and thus becomes a principle of social life. He applied this social quality even to the relations of sex, age, property, etc.

This teaching found no favor whatever with Sohm and Naumann, and not even with Troeltsch. Troeltsch maintained that according to such a teaching almost anything could be made sociological.

There are at least a dozen of definitions as to what is sociological, and many more as to what is social. Troeltsch warrantably took the position of Lorenz von Stein and Karl Rodbertus. Both of these applied the concept of social to a very definite and closely circumscribed section of general sociological phenomena, especially to what does not come under state or political regimentation or has been eliminated from it. The sociological phenomena, accepted by Troeltsch, are affected by the government only secondarily. They refer in the main to divisions of labor, to strained relations between a population and its classes, etc. They are not of political origin, though they are of political import, Troeltsch contended.

Troeltsch, notwithstanding his lashing criticism of Nathusius, shared, however, some of the latter's views, which Sohm utterly rejected. The social question according to Sohm can not be solved by Christianity, or the Gospel, or by the acceptance of Christianity. In order to help to solve the social problem, it is necessary that Christians, like everybody else, acquaint themselves with the existing laws of the state or the community, especially since these laws affect Labor and the rights of the laboring classes to free assembly and collective self-expression. Christian charity can not solve the problem of poverty. Insight into the existing laws is needed, in order to bring about a protective legislation, which can lessen the grip of poverty. Technical means must be employed to reach the desirable end. Thus Sohm, in discussing the state.

To the majority of German thinkers, the state has always been more important than society. A people organizes itself into a state. The state legislates its will into law, and is sovereign. Hegel and Fichte, as E. Hirsch contends, dreamed of a perfect state, though they differed in their views as to how this state should shape its course. Both, however, had in mind a well-regulated state system in which the individual should receive the greatest amount of liberty and protection, and yet sacrifice enough to have a social state. Their goal was a socialized state in which the term "good" and "bad" were reserved for two classes of citizens: those who obeyed the laws and those who disobeyed them. Of course, the fairest kind of legislation was the presupposition in such a state. While all this had reference to the temporal state—the kingdom of consciences (or the kingdom of God), which has other criteria for "good" and "bad", was not ignored, but not belonging to the temporal scheme as such, did not enter into the discussion.

German thinkers, long before the World War, contended that the Prussian idea of state was an admirable contribution to legal philosophy. They were proud of it, and saw nothing of the "Prussian heel". The bitter taste of Marxism made latter Germans still firmer in asserting the national state over against such international forms as Catholicism (when political), Jewry (also political), and Sovietism.

Von Stein had declared that the separation of state from society was peculiar to modern times. Nevertheless, the state idea, as the leading coercive power on earth, had been championed long before that by Luther, especially over against anarchy and hierarchy. It had authority over the "body", but not over the

soul, or conscience. He called the state "government"; and government was then in the hands of a prince or of a very few.

French and English thinkers placed "society" on a higher level than the state by making the state a mere division of society, comparable to the church and the family. Somehow they failed to understand the German conception of state. They accordingly belittled it. H. Mitchel in his *L'idée de l'état, essai critique* (1896) was fair in his treatment of Hegel's view regarding the separation between state and society, but he failed, as Paul Barth shows, to note the difference between the French and the German use of the two terms. The misunderstanding of terms, caused by ignorance of the legal philosophies of different nations, may ultimately create a mass misunderstanding, which only finds an outlet in war hysteria and actual war. Science, however, should settle this better than the sword.

Badly as the concepts of "state" and "society" have fared in modern discussions, the treatment given to the term "social" has been nothing short of outrageous. What is there that is not "social" today? There are "socials" in church and "social functions" at college. There is "social evil" and "social hygiene,"—and the "social problem."

In the face of this confusion, it could be expected that also antiquity had its share of social problems. Yet, we are informed by Rodbertus, that the social question of antiquity was extremely simple. It was exclusively a question about the distribution of real estate, a selfcomplacent autocracy being unwilling to make any concession. Gradually, a new social question arose, that of mercantile capital and, still later, that of manufacturing.

In applying the term "social" to the Gospel, the only possible solution is the truth that the real, inner, religious life of man is *moral*, while his external deeds are *social*. Accordingly, the term "social gospel" is a contradiction in terms. "Moral", in this meaning, is only another side of faith. It is not that morality which is the result of man's insight as to how he must conduct himself in a well-ordered society. It is more than "civic morality" or "civic righteousness." It is righteousness given by God. The difference between what is moral and legal (social) has been admirably described by Sohm, who says in substance:

Divine justice measures man according to his moral worth, his worth before God. Communion between the individual and God is the foundation of moral order. Mutual communion between the members of a people is the foundation of legal order. The legal worth of a person has moral worth as a presupposition, but not as a criterion. A just legal order among men must answer to, or at least not contradict, the moral nature of the legal subject. It is not the object of law to enforce a minimum of morality. Morality can not be forced nor indeed does it admit of being stated in terms of any proposition of general validity. Still less is it the business of law to act as a kind of "practical Christianity." Christianity by statute would be a contradiction in terms. It is true, law helps to train men up for Christian morality, but it is not the servant of moral law; it carries its rule within itself. Law is the servant of the people, and of no one else. It exacts the things that are Caesar's, the people's—never the things that are God's. (R. Sohm, *Institutionen: Geschichte und System des Römischen Privatrechts*, 1917 15.)

Notwithstanding such lucid thinking, exactly restating the religious position of Luther, there has been much agitation in the land of the Reformation for "Christian Socialism." The fact that Roman Catholicism preaches "Christian Socialism" is not at all strange. For, Catholicism, a legalistic system and committed to Canon Law, regards itself as the "*societas veraque perfectissima*," with divine right to dictate to the state. It regards the state as but a poor mirror of itself, solely existing by the authority of the church, whose head is the Pope, the only authorized representative of Christ on earth. But also German Protestants have labored for a "Christian social" program. They have had many "Christian-Social" societies, comprising, however, only a small number of the German Protestant clergy. Many of the topics they have discussed have had but little to do with Christianity. Not a few university professors, too, have been members of these organizations and have tried to prove that there is a specific social



force inherent in the Gospel! Max Weber (d. 1920), an economist and sociologist, was a member of the Evangelical-Social Congress. He made a special study of the relation between religion and economics, and asserted that Reformed Protestantism was strong in furthering industrial enterprise (Puritan capitalism), while the Lutherans were weak.

Archbishop Söderblom was skeptical as to the correctness of this assertion. It certainly did not hold true of Sweden, a thoroughly Lutheran country. Nor of Saxony with its five million inhabitants, as Heinrich Boehmer has conclusively proven. See Boehmer: *Die Bedeutung des Luthertums für Europäische Kultur*, in his *Gesammelte Schriften* (1927). Weber actually assigned to the Church the right to mediate in social struggles, and he found such mediation highly desirable. In this he followed such "Christian Socialists" of England as Kingsley, Maurice, Ludlow, and Robertson. Of a similar turn of mind were German scholars like Lujo Brentano, Walter Lotz, and Gerhard Schulze-Gaeverinus. Brentano was a Catholic and went to the Church Fathers for "proofs"; his social thinking, moreover, was considerably influenced by asceticism.

Among other representatives of German academic circles who thought they could find "Christian principles," by which they could regulate economic life, were men like William Roschler, Karl Knies, Adolf Wagner, and Gustav Schmoller, all economists. Wagner and Schmoller championed ethical political economy and emphasized moral motives. Erich Foerster well remarks that these men "make Christianity a mediating power also in the affairs of industry." He properly rejects such mediation as unevangelical.

"Anglo-Saxon Christianity", on the whole, welcomes these views, promising a "better Christianity" than the Christianity whose exclusive task is the salvation of man, leaving social and economic adjustments to the temporal kingdom, the kingdom of causality ordained by God to take care of these matters through reason. However, these "Anglo-Saxon" views externalize the Gospel. An example of this: Giving a lecture before the Ministerial Association of a larger city, the writer made the statement that prohibition was not a specifically Christian virtue: More than 225,000,000 Mohammedans were prohibitionists. He also referred to a coal strike, settled through the efforts of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. As a result of the decision of this body, the hegemony of selling coal was transferred from Pennsylvania to West Virginia, to the displeasure of the former state. The writer held that the problem, being a purely economic one, belonged to what the theologians of the Reformation called the realm of "civic justice," and could therefore have been just as fairly arbitrated by five Jews as by a committee of the Federal Council of the Churches. What advantage, he asked, would civic justice have if mediated by Christians instead of Jews; or what disadvantage would it experience if mediated by Jews instead of Christians? A clergyman, of the Lutheran profession, to whom such reasoning should not have been alien, objected excitedly. The settlement was "divine, divine," he asserted, trying to maintain some dignity, but trembling with excitement, which perhaps was also due, in a measure, to the remark that Mohammedans no less than Christians could be "temperance folk." The clergyman had delivered a sermon the Sunday before, advocating prohibition. The writer knew nothing about this performance. However, the pronouncement that in civic righteousness a Jew could be just as fair as a Christian, caused the pontifical excitement.

Technical solutions do not have their source in the Gospel, though the spontaneous love of Christianity may become the "drive" behind the provided rational solution, and thus fulfil the duty of love to the neighbor. Reason is the source of these solutions; but reason is not an ethical or religious principle. The fact, however, that great importance is assigned to reason, does not imply that the field of reason barricades man from relationship with God. This relationship, to use the language of Ragnar Bring, is not limited by what is extraneous to it, or by external life. Reason, of course, must be applied to social life. But the relation which is regulated by reason can be received by a Christian in faith. A Christian can affirm ordinances for which *ratio* is a regulative principle, when they are necessary.

To be obedient to civic righteousness is *social*. It becomes *moral* when the God-fearing and God-trusting attitude is behind it. Casting into the treasury



(Mk. 12) was a deed of civic righteousness: it was a *social* deed. But the widow, who gave the two mites, actuated as she was by unselfish love, performed at the same time a *moral* deed. As to the direction "Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other," Stammer well says: "This is not a paragraph respecting a right *social* volition, but it is a teaching about the right *moral* volition."

To summarize, Christianity, or the Gospel, or the Church of the Apostles' Creed—they all mean the same thing—contains no social program. It is true, most people regard this Church as the sum of all the "empirical churches." These "churches", because they are "world" (not necessarily sinful), use social means; for otherwise they could not exist as collective groups: *Ubi societas, ibi ius*. However, the true Church, or the Gospel operating in man, is beyond legal compulsion, be it juristic law or conventional regulation. This Church does not, and can not, engage in the Social Christian Movement, which needs the element of coercion. Cfr. article by writer in *Indremissionsvennen*, January 5, 1938.

According to Dr. G. Briefs in *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences* there are three groups in the Social-Christian movement. The first affirms the existence of an objective social and economic order derived from Christian doctrine and distinct from the present order of Society. The second holds that the existing economic and social order may be reformed by the force and sphere of Christianity and that the infusion of Christian feeling and Christian Ethics into social life will alleviate social distress. The third seeks merely to distinguish the Christian movement from un-Christian or anti-Christian manifestations of the social movement.

At the outset, Stuckenberg seemed to belong to the last group. But as time passed, he allied himself more and more with the first, though he sometimes wrote as if he belonged to the second. It was, therefore, natural that he exegeted Mark 10:45 as including social redemption. He says:—

"Only when a preacher wears the manacles (sic) of a state ecclesiasticism as found in some continental churches of Europe can we understand such statements as the following: 'The improvement of social and political conditions is the work of men of state. . . . But preachers of the gospel can exert an *indirect* influence upon the social improvement of mankind.' That is half truth which degrades the pastor and robs the pulpit of its power. The preacher's influence for social improvement is direct and positive, backed by the example of Christ and the authority of the divine word. It is time to exalt, not to lower, the authority of the pulpit and the power of the pastor. It is humiliating to find that the words quoted were uttered by a professor of theology; nor is it less humiliating that the religious press repeats them without a protest."

Perhaps the practice of Luther can shed some light on this. Luther often expressed himself on social matters—and that from the pulpit. He would preach from a gospel text, and sometimes conclude with the words, "that was the Gospel." Then he would speak for several minutes about conditions in the congregation. The latter part of the sermon would thus refer to social matters. But he never "preached" this in the meaning that salvation could be obtained by creating better social conditions. Good social conditions could train for Christianity, help one to the threshold. But to cross the threshold was possible only by the help of God, or God's operation in man. Luther admitted that his sermons were not free from human weaknesses: there was straw also in his sermons. But only the gold in them, the power of God at work in them, could redeem from sin and grant fellowship with God "where and when" it was his will. The "preaching office," Luther held, was incumbent upon all Christians. Only for external order's sake, should a preacher exercise publicly (that is, before large stated assemblies) the general priesthood of believers. Qualitatively, the preacher's message did not differ from that of a pious layman, though it might contain more theology. See writer's article in *Reform*, January 6, 1938.

If the words of that professor, deplored by Stuckenberg, implied that it would be wrong for an organized "church" and for its preacher to express themselves on a social question or carry on organized charity (e. g. Inner Mission), this professor was decidedly in error. Social-religious work by a corporate body is a

question of expediency. If it should cause dissension and weaken the power of the congregation to persuade men to come to listen to the Word, the collective attempt at "socializing" might well be abandoned or lessened. The aim of the visible church, according to Luther, was primarily to bring the Gospel to men. The danger abroad as elsewhere has, however, been to absolutize this visible church, making it identical with the spiritual Church of the Apostles' Creed, and applying the laws of this spiritual Church to visible churchdom. Outside the *spiritual* (invisible) Church there is no salvation. But this must not be applied to a social-religious organization, or to a visible church, which is *mundus* (world)—also according to the Book of Concord.

But back to the three groups, discussed by Dr. Briefs. The error, particularly of the first two, consists in viewing Mark 12:17 and Romans 13:1 with the eyes of Rome. In asserting that an evangelical Christian, though subject to all earthly powers in obedience and fidelity, is still free (outwardly bound need not mean inwardly bound), Emanuel Hirsch points out faults of Rome: Rome makes law, polity, custom, and the goods of the temporal church, a part of the kingdom of truth. It ascribes a *noli me tangere* quality to these things. It, secondly, places itself above the state and asserts that it speaks with divine authority. The truth is, however, that political power is as close to God as is the ecclesiastical. Opposition against the authority of the state cannot be organized in the name of Jesus. It can be organized in the name of reason. Man must not make political rule a part of the kingdom of religious truth. To realize the kingdom of God in a political form means selfdestruction to the political state. Tolstoy advocated such a realization—and erred in so doing.

Christianity is not economics, nor a new and better system of economics. It is not sociology or politics or metaphysics or a "world-view". It does not identify itself with a definite political form. It does not claim to be or to furnish a "Christian Philosophy" or a "Christian world-view". It is "God-view", belief in God, a life lived in the remission of sins and filled with the *Agape* (love), a gift from God.

16) Nothing corporate can be Christian, though, of course, it need not be anti-Christian. Only a human being can, strictly speaking, be a Christian, says Dr. Arvid Runestam, of Uppsala University. Erick Foerster quotes with approval Sohm's statement: "One could as well speak of a Christian corporation-concept as about the concept of a Christian shot gun. But we are, through Catholicism, so used to confounding what is Christian with what is juridical, that the inner self-contradiction which is contained in the concept of Christian state and Christian law is usually perceived no longer."

Foerster also quotes Karl Holl, Berlin: "Luther knows a Christian state as little as a Christian shoemaking trade." "A Christian order of the world is and remains for Luther a self-contradiction." See Erich Foerster: *Unsinn und Sinn des "Christlichen Staates,"* an excellent defence of Sohm's views. Only, he assumes that Luther still maintained the idea from the Middle Ages of a *corpus christianum*, and therefore regarded external Christendom as "church". To this "church", says Foerster, all belong who have been under the influence of the Word sufficiently to decide for or against Christ, even if they have no church membership, or even are Jews. Foerster does not identify this *corpus christianum* with the church of the third article, or even with the organized visible church.

Dr. Rudolph Oeschey claims, against Foerster, that Luther gave up the old view of *corpus christianum*. With Luther, then, *Christenheit* and the spiritual church are identical. See: Matthes, *Das Corpus Christianum bei Luther im Lichte seiner Erforschung* 1924. E. Foerster, *Sohm Widerlegt?* in "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte," 1929, pp. 307-343. In this brilliant article Foerster criticises several contributions to the new edition of *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (I-V). He has himself written excellent articles for both editions of this work on theological matters. He calls for the genuine Lutheran conception of church, never yet understood by Anglicanism, Reformism or Taufertum. He rejects the social gospel or Christian Sociology as self-contradictory terms. Social Ethics, he holds, is too apt to become political. A splendid quotation from him on this and the ministry is found incorporated in an article *Two Theological Thinkers of Denmark,*

in "Credo Ecclesiam," (Toledo, September 10, 1936, p. 4). The same periodical, April 6, 1936, contains a translation of statements by Sohm, about *The Conception of the Lutheran Reformation as to the Office of the Ministry*.

17) Luther taught, what Kant did not believe, that Duty and Inclination unite, and that the ethical unreservedly is an end in itself. As beauty impresses for its own sake, so does the good commend itself as good because it is good. Brunner denies this. Christianity presents not legalistic ethics, nor theological ethics, but attitudinal ethics. This is well set forth by Anders Nygren.

One cannot show philosophically what is good, or that Christian ethics is right. The attitude of mind, being a place for judging, and an informal determination may not be good. Moreover, the ethics of attitude *does not evaluate*—and it should not—but it states what can be made the *object* of evaluation. The ethical has transcendental validity. The autonomy of the ethical depends on that. Ethics is not today what older ethics was, a guide book in morality. It presents a doctrine about morality, not in morality or of morality. At one time, Christian ethics was a science, starting with Christian presuppositions as to what is good. It aimed to be a scientific presentation of the correctness and truth of the Christian view. If we conceive it to be the business of ethics not only to be descriptive, but also to present ethical *ideals*, the result will be an unwarrantable mixture of science and theological ethics. Philosophical ethics is a theory of ethical experience, and its first task is to analyze this experience, show its independence in relation to other fields and establish ethical categories. These categories refer only to the purely formal, not to contents. They state the condition for the possibility of experience, state the validity of ethical experience. Universal categories are questions about the true, the good, the eternal, the relation to God. The Christian ethical idea is expressed in the attitude of love, but this is not a metaphysical good. The imperative is not the adequate form for evangelical Ethics. Luther's view is correct: He does not base religion on the ascendancy of human will, but on an impression from God, which lays hold of man and makes him feel his guilt. Eudemonism and the doctrine of oughtness bear an anthropocentric stamp, while Luther's religion is theocentric and, therefore, becomes evangelical, where God gives in spontaneous love and man accepts.

Stuckenberg indeed quotes Luther's statement that it is improper to say that "seven and three ought to be ten." For, "they are ten." He properly objects to the merit of works, but somehow makes a book, rather than the Spirit, a guide for ethical living.

In the above we have more or less presented the views of Professor Anders Nygren, who justifiably raised some objections even to Karl Holl's article on the Ethics of Luther, as stressing too much the imperative of Sinai.

Though Stuckenberg sought no aid from epistemology, he could not have followed Albert Schweitzer's agnosticism in epistemology, who found the base for ethics in mystical reverence for life, working without evolution, however, towards the perfect fulfillment of the Sermon on the Mount (Anton Fridrichsen, *Albert Schweitzer som teolog*, in "Kirke og Kultur", Oslo, June, 1935).

As to following the ethics of Sören Kierkegaard, the great Danish thinker, whom he knew through Martensen, but had very little first hand knowledge of (due to the language), Stuckenberg could not have done it. The Dane was too individualistic, though Stuckenberg could well have accepted his view in making the New Testament a source for ethical living, with reservations. Kierkegaard, however, would not have permitted any reservations, though his asceticism was to be temporary, mainly consisting in combating worldliness. Luther attacked workholiness, but took a joyous view of the creative order. See Torsten Bohlin, *Kierkegaards dogmatiske åskådning* (Stockholm, 1925), a very fine work on Kierkegaard's dogmatics.

18) Philosophy has been called the science of sciences. Theology has been given the same distinctive designation. Scholasticism gave the palm to theology, considering it as religion. Religion, however, asks for relation with God. All religions, save Christianity, teach that fellowship with God is gained through the *efforts of man*. These religions teach that man must *sacrifice* or *obey* by keeping the law, or *humble himself*, to gain a gracious God. God's grace is thus given



by God, but motivated by the efforts of man. These religions teach *man's way to God*.

But Christianity teaches the opposite: *God's way to man*. He as gracious God establishes fellowship with sinners by his unmotivated love. Some, therefore, claim that Christianity is the negation of all religion.

Evangelical Christianity is, at least, the supreme religion. Theology has, as its object, the investigation of this religion in its manifestations. It cannot have God as an object of investigation. God cannot be subjected to man's way of measuring, be it in logic or categories of logic like causality, or causativeness, which was already treated skeptically by Hume and is now being questioned in its former omnipotence by physicists.

Many schools treat religion and philosophy under the same department. It is often taught that the one branch aids or complements the other. Religion is then being regarded as identical with theology; some assert the two together create a *Weltanschauung*, as is often claimed by Philosophy of Religion, where religion is said to do one thing and philosophy the other, in the building of the structure. All this leads nowhere.

The business of philosophy is to discover categories, not to give a world view. A world view is always more or less subjective, and never can be scientifically objective. Philosophy is a science. That it is not a natural science, matters not. Natural science deals with large, nevertheless limited fields and cannot be a substitute for philosophy or a dictator to philosophy.

The business of systematic theology is to understand Christianity by the help of its sources and its development in agreement with these sources. It is thus a science. Some, however, wish to make it something more than a science. They want to regard it as a science plus something—a confession, or a world view. They desire to show how rational, and how superior Christianity is to all (other) world views; and how necessary it is, satisfying the deepest longings of man. Theology here becomes a *demonstrative* "science," or Apologetics.

Others claim that theology is to state what is the only right way to *think* and to *live* Christianity. Dogmatics and ethics thus become *normative*. Thomas Aquinas cherished this view.

These two views are very popular. But they are to be rejected. The task of theology is to be *descriptive*, and neither normative nor demonstrative in its claims. Only in this way can theology be a science, and worthy of faculty representation in a university which faces real facts, and does not eliminate any of the *positive sciences* (Theology, Law, Medicine), but dares grapple with them, without handing them over in peacemeal fashion to biologists, sociologists, psychologists, and "educationalists." Real theology, or scientific theology, assumes the task of describing Christian faith and its ethos, and, through this description, permits Christianity to be set forth as it is, and not as it *must* be according to this or that speculative system. Naturally, in this descriptive work, philosophy is formal auxiliary, as is philology or history. But philosophy never is a part content of Christianity or its aid, complement or supplement.

This descriptive task is being followed especially by the Swedish school of Gustav Aulén, Anders Nygren, and Ragnar Bring, in the University of Lund. It is clear-cut and does justice to philosophy as well as to theology.

When Dr. Sprecher recommended Stuckenberg to Ann Arbor, he did not think of what has been called the *descriptive* task, which, of course, is no less systematic than historical. It is likely that also Stuckenberg, with his view on the mission of Christian Sociology and with his teaching that Christianity also has the task of creating a better civilization, would have failed to anticipate the standards set by the systematists of Lund.

Dr. Sprecher himself was rather optimistic: "Our education and civilization is, indeed, becoming less sectarian, but all the more Christian." Europe lacks self-government, he assures us. The United States is ahead. "Here and through the instrumentality of this nation, 'it shall come to pass that men shall learn to beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks;' 'that nation shall not lift up sword against nation,' and that nations 'shall not learn war any more.'" (The Theological Monthly, Springfield, Ohio, November, 1888, p. 134.)



On the other hand, it is just as likely that Stuckenberg would not have assigned to Christianity the role supplied for it by that collective contribution, *An Outline of Christianity: The Story of Our Civilization*, published in our country some years ago in five stout volumes. The title indicates that Christianity and civilization are thought to be identical. The demands made upon Christianity by the Director of this work are symptomatic of much of the theology of the times:

"We make three demands upon Christianity: *First*, that as a religion it shall provide us with a tolerable explanation of the riddle of existence; *Second*, that as a way of life it shall guide us toward social happiness and justice; *Third*, that as a basis for civilization it shall draw together in amity the nations and races of mankind."

A Christianity with such a mission seems to some not only as secularized, but as vulgarized. If Christianity is religious revelation, must it become a Cinderella for reason? Or is reason bankrupt? Are not most of our economic and social and political ills due to the fact that our economics, politics, sociology are conducted irrationally, and in overlooking that amelioration consists in making them more rational, more answering to their inherent laws (*Eigengesetzlichkeit*)?

The demands of that Director were wrongly addressed. They should go to reason, not revelation—as a source for the realization of these demands. The demands themselves are equitable, fair, rational, but they look for help in the wrong direction. Their logic turns religion into theology and theology into philosophy, or to one of its departmental subjects—according to the older classification—namely, Sociology. In fact jurisprudence and economics and the science of politics go far to answer the demands. And if these answers are not fully satisfactory, Christianity can not be added as a plus to give the solution.

If Stuckenberg had come to Ann Arbor at 48 or 60, it is inconceivable that he, after the fashion of the demands of the above mentioned work, would have turned philosophy into theology or theology into philosophy. He would have taught philosophy, unmechanized, but at the same time unbiologized—permitting the use of this word. He would have taught philosophy none the worse—yes, perhaps all the better—for being a theologian besides a philosopher. Not all philosophers are theologians—Höfding and Heinze and Troeltsch were more or less exceptional. Hans Leisegang at Jena says, most philosophers hardly have looked into a work on theological dogmatics. He mentions Wundt, Natorp, Eucken, leading philosophers who show such naiveness in all they write pertaining to theology, that "one can hardly do them injustice in claiming they have never read a systematic Dogmatics or a History of Protestant theology." (Leisegang, *Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart*, 1930, p. 27.)

Philosophers, too, need curbing. Arthur Drews took upon himself to prove that Jesus never lived, thus invading the historical field. Von Hartmann made excursions into the fields of theology and politics. He attacked Harnack for his *Wesen des Christentums* and claimed that any man who wanted to introduce his age to the 16th century was backward-stepping; more so, one that started with the 11th century, still more so one that looked back to the 6th century. But of all ideas: to start with the first century! The same *philosophicus* took upon himself to intrude his teachings upon Bismarck. He sent the chancellor a package of his work on philosophy for the latter's politico-intellectual improvement. Bismarck left the package unopened and marked it "Ad acta", and saw it no more.

This does not say that there are theologians who are not skeptical of systems. Harnack was not much interested in philosophers or dogmatists. He liked to classify Dogmatics with Fiction; and of all philosophers, he found the most congenial company in Leibnitz! Bismarck, being asked to what extent Kant's categorical imperative entered into his political dealings, said he had no time to think about it.

Stuckenberg needed theology as a tonic. Any school which tabooed theology, or taught it through ethics, philosophy, psychology, would have given him strange feelings. Such sectional work would be no substitute for a faculty of competent theologians teaching theology scientifically.

19) I have discussed this question more fully in *Skandinavien*, Chicago, September 24, 1925.

20) While this distinction between visible and invisible church is nearer to the views of Luther than to those of Zwingli or Calvin, and while it was quite commonly accepted by a majority of the German clergy about 1890, it does not do full justice to Luther's grand conception of the Church, as especially taught in his writings of 1520-1521 and in his two catechisms.

21) This information has been verified by Dr. Charles G. Shatzer.

22) *Plan for the Study of a Community.*

23) Albert Schweitzer contends that the kingdom of God as taught by Jesus is eschatological.

24) Sohm claims that the question, "What think ye of Christ" is for Scribes and Pharisees, who were put to shame by it, and not for believers. The main question is, he says: "Have you found Christ? Have you through Christ found the gracious God as the Lord and the source of your life?" This means: source of religious life, lordship over religious life, not a new intellectual authority in the fields of knowledge (*Kirchenrecht* II, 138).

25) Dr. J. B. Remensnyder became President of the General Synod for the years 1911-1913.

26) When men were to be elected to succeed Dr. Valentine in the Seminary, and Dr. Eli Huber in the College at Gettysburg, Stuckenberg was no longer among the living. If Stuckenberg had remained among the living in 1904, when Dr. S. G. Hefelbower was elected President of Gettysburg College, the latter would have spared no effort to make him a member of his Faculty. "I surely would have considered him, if he would have considered Gettysburg. I always admired him; and . . . we needed men of larger horizon . . ." (Letter from Dr. Hefelbower to writer.)

27) This information was volunteered to the writer by Dr. John Singmaster, a former President of Gettysburg Theological Seminary.

The life of James W. Richard has been sketched in *Dictionary of American Biography* by the writer of this book.

28) A more detailed discussion of the state as Stuckenberg conceived it to be, is given in the pamphlet of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Social and Political Theories of J. H. W. Stuckenberg: A Representative Sociological Contribution to Politics*. (Reprint from the "Lutheran Quarterly," Gettysburg, October, 1911.)

29) *The Ohio Sociologist*, Bulletin of the Ohio Sociological Society, Columbus, Ohio, September, 1928, presents a fine article on Stuckenberg as a sociologist, written by Dr. C. Terrence Pihlblad, now Professor at University of Missouri. The *Lutheran Observer*, November 29, 1912, contains a brief but good survey of Stuckenberg's life, by Dr. S. G. Hefelbower.

30) Several of the *Manuscripts* listed in the front part of the book have been commented upon in this work. The *novel* which Stuckenberg wrote, was likely for members of the family, a work of recreation. Its strength consists in character description. *Dread of Insanity* is a remarkable booklet, a penetrating analysis of soul life, in agreement with observations made by modern psychiatrists. *Psychology, or States of the Soul* is preserved in fragments only and is speculative rather than empirical. *Introduction to Socialism* covers much of the ground of *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, but is more historical, and was used as the basis of the latter work.

## Appendix II

### ARTICLES BY DR. STUCKENBERG IN THE HOMILETIC REVIEW\*

- ✓ The Proper Use of National Blessings the Best Evidence of Gratitude. Appeared in the December 1884 issue.
- ✓ Symposium on the Pulpit: "Is the Pulpit Declining in Power? If so What is the Remedy?" In September, 1885.
- ✓ Socialism and the Church. In May, 1886.
- ✓ Through Doubt. In October, 1886.
- ✓ Experience with Doubters. In November, 1886.
- ✓ The German Pulpit: Points of Contrast with the American Pulpit. In August, 1887.
- ✓ The University of Berlin. In September, 1887.
- ✓ Psychology for Preachers: The Psychological Work of the Preacher. In October, 1887.
- ✓ Psychology for Preachers: Psychological Condition in the Hearers Requiring Special Attention. In November, 1887.
- ✓ Psychology for Preachers: The Psychic Culture of the Preacher. In February, 1888.
- ✓ Prince Bismarck's Religious Views. In May, 1897.
- ✓ Present Theological Tendencies: Dominant Factors of the Age Which Affect the Theological Tendencies. In March, 1899.
- ✓ Present Theological Tendencies: Criticism and Negation. June, 1899.
- ✓ Present Theological Tendencies: The Constructive Tendencies. In September, 1899.
- ✓ Present Theological Tendencies: The Person of Christ. In November, 1899.
- ✓ Present Theological Tendencies: The Inner Mission in Germany. In December, 1899.
- ✓ The Christian Social Movement. In August, 1902.
- Current Religious Thought of Continental Europe—Series began in February, 1885, in every month but June, 1886, June, 1887, and December, 1887. Name changed to European Department in January, 1888, ran through to January, 1892, inclusive, only omitting December, 1891.
- Religious and Social Thought and Movement at the close of the Nineteenth Century. Series from January to December, 1900, every month.
- Religious and Social Thought and Movement at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Series from January to December, 1901, every month.
- ✓ The Social Problem, a series running every month from January, 1895, to December, 1896.
- ✓ School for Social Study, every month from July to December, 1896.
- Social Study and Social Work, series running every month from January, 1897 to December, 1899.

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\* Compiled by Office of Funk & Wagnalls, New York, Publishers of *The Homiletic Review*. This list naturally does not include twenty-two sermons translated from French and German by Mrs. Stuckenberg for, and published in, this *Review* during the years 1885-1890. These sermons were by Eugene Bersier, Theodor Christlieb, Ernst Dryander, Karl Gerok, Rudolph Kögel, Chr. Ernst Luthardt, J. Müllensiefen, Otto Pank, and Otto von Ranke.







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